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JULY 23, 1976

NATIONAL REVIEW

A SPECIAL ISSUE

The American Revolution- Genesis and Meaning

Thomas Wendel

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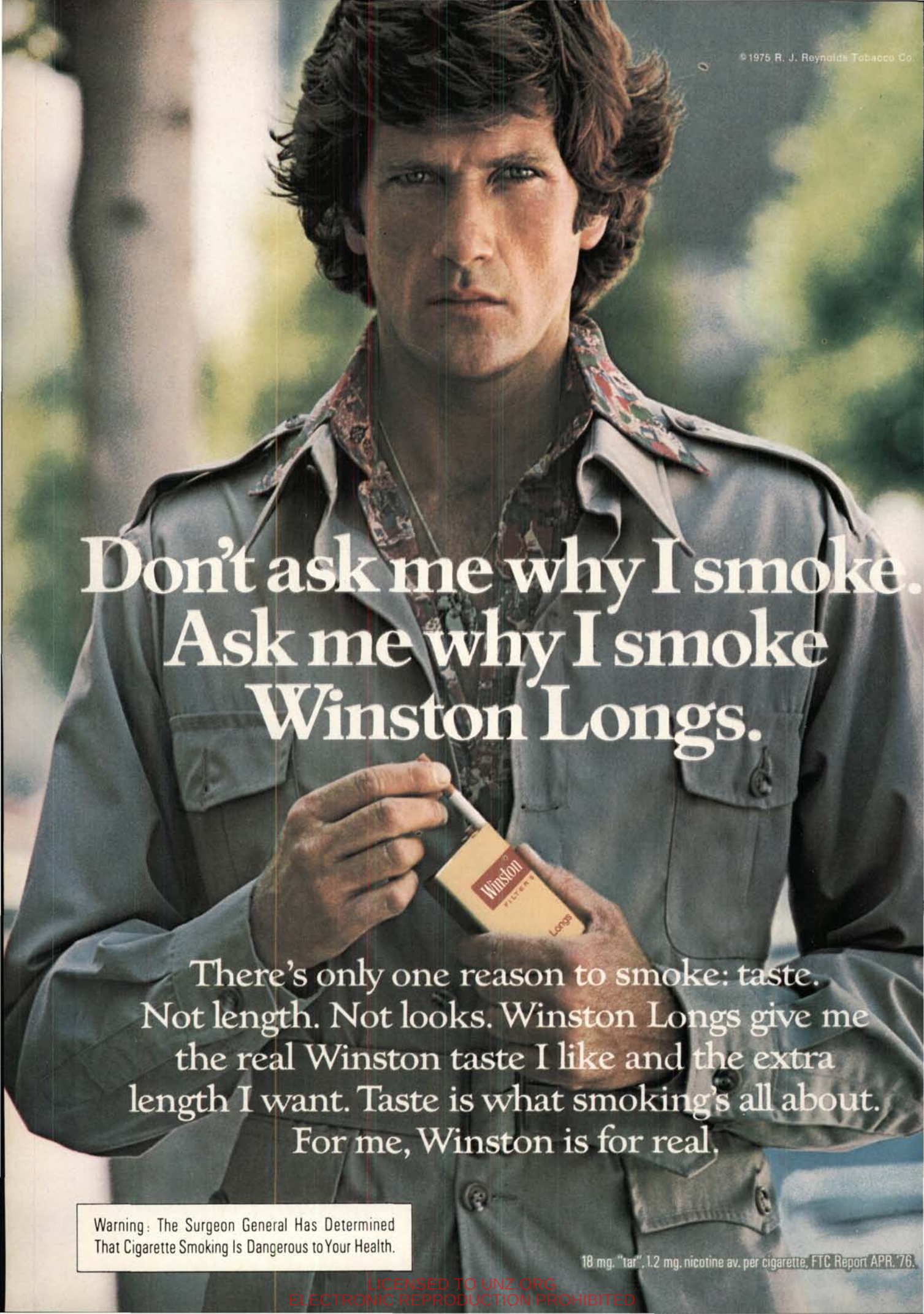
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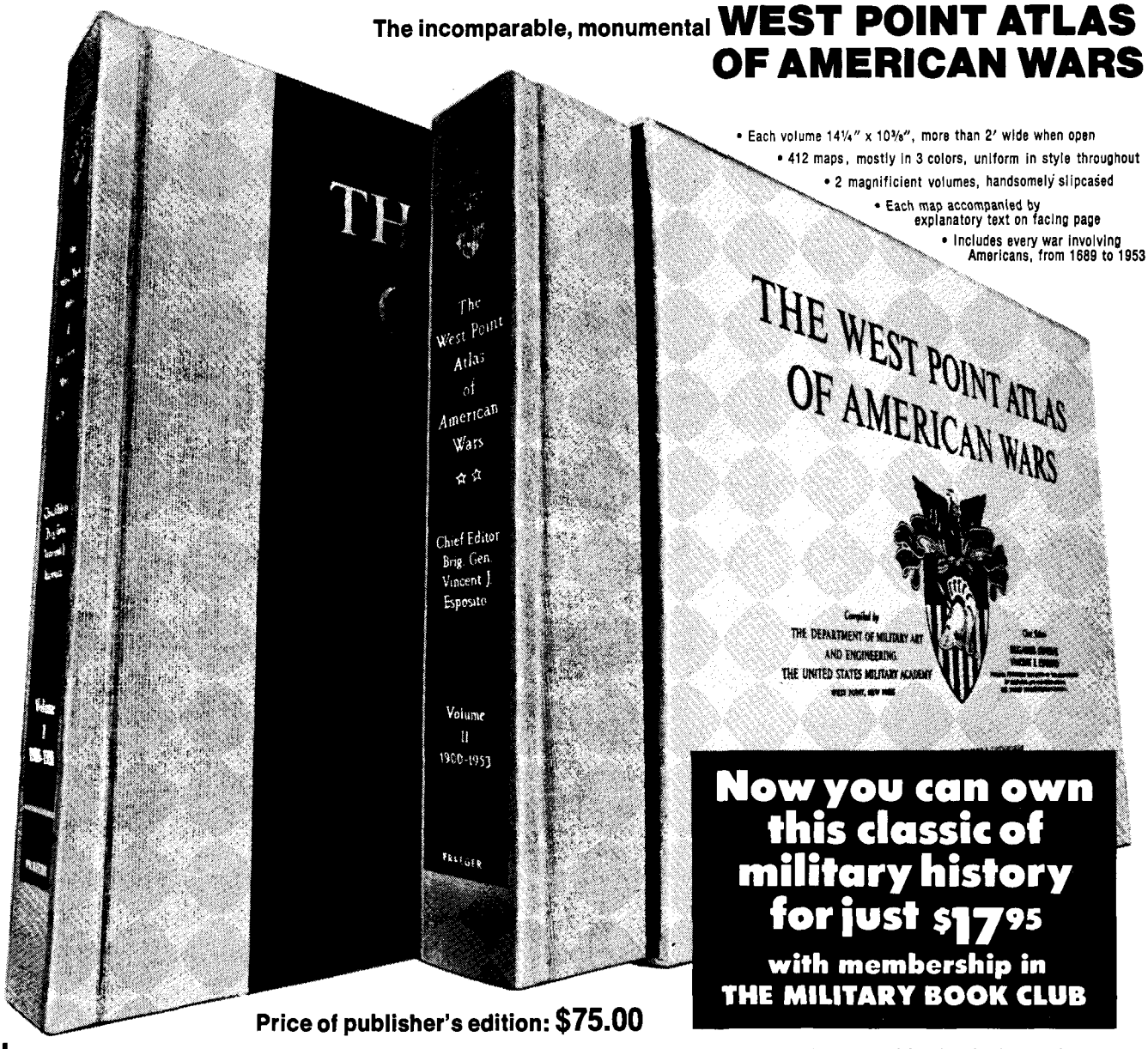
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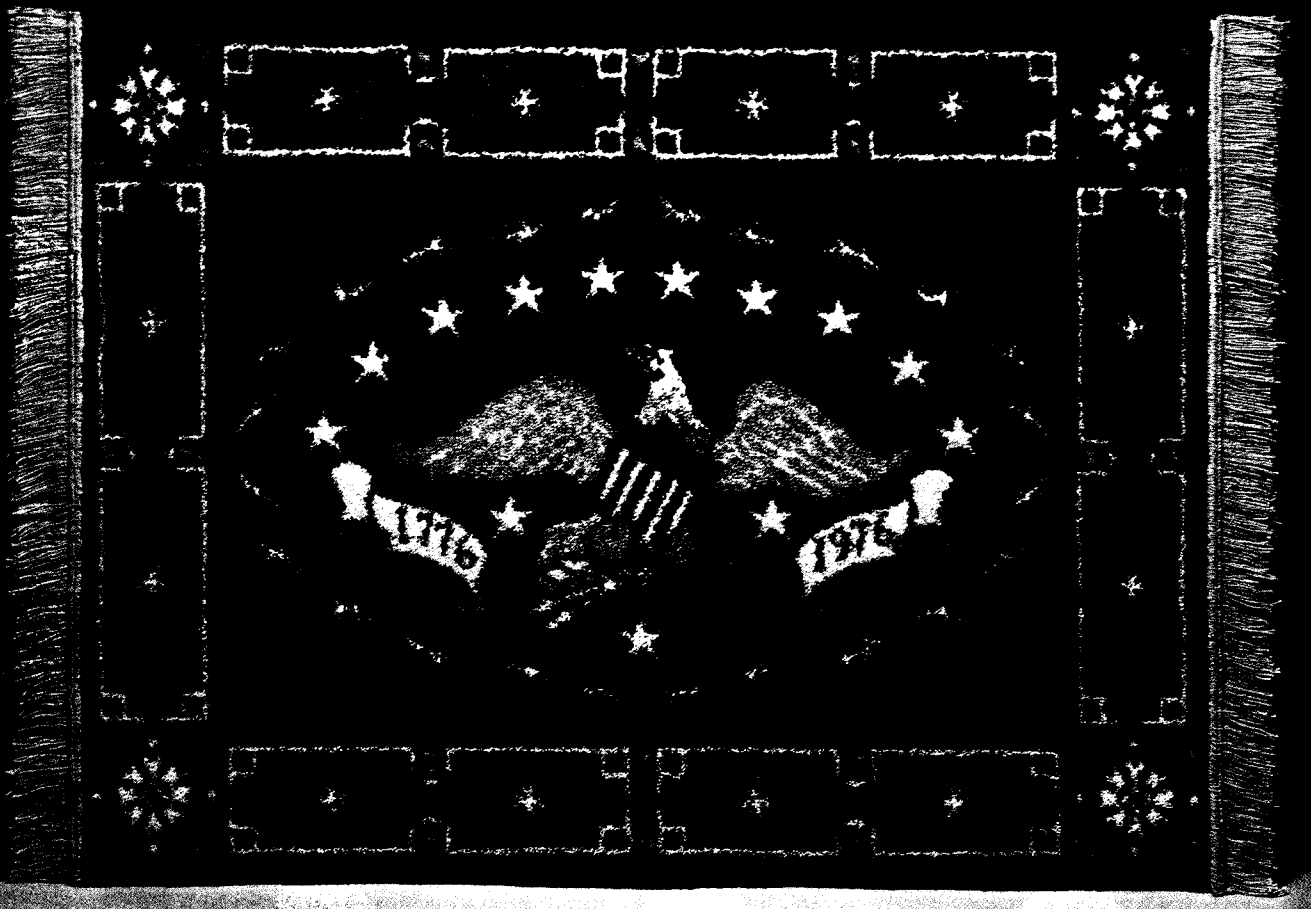

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VOL. XXVIII, NO. 27 JULY 23, 1976

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A BICENTENNIAL SPECIAL

The American Revolution—Genesis and Meaning

777 **I. Why the Revolution**

781 **II. From Lexington to Independence**

785 **III. The Birth of the Nation**

Paradoxically, the Bicentennial has so far tended to strengthen our national bias against history, our historical presentism, by suggesting that our national life dates from July 4, 1776. But America had already acquired its own history and character—over 150 years' worth—by the time the Founding Fathers put their John Hancocks to the Declaration. The possibility of revolution had been latent since the original emigrations from England—emigrations, after all, which were often animated by exasperation with that land and its ways. The pre-Revolutionary story and its aftermath, even in brief, is rich and exciting, and we are happy to offer it here and now.

Thomas Wendel

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Recent archaeological discoveries are throwing new light on the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Greece (MPLG).
Kevin Forster

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Does calling us cowards make us cowards?
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By the time you read this, St. Michael's may have been razed. *Russell Kirk*

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John K. Andrews Jr.

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A new spate of books tries to come to terms with an embarrassing fact about JFK's killer.
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The House That Ruth Built has been rebuilt.
D. Keith Mano

Cover photo by Ralph Manstein

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Letters

Reasonable Doubt

Godfrey Schmidt's article "Malpractice Insurance: A Way Out?" [July 9] seems to be quite a clever answer to a very serious problem. But would it work, and if it did, mightn't it go too far?

Changing the standard of proof required to find a doctor—or lawyer or other professional—negligent to "proof beyond a reasonable doubt" (the same standard required for convicting criminals) would *presumably* afford him better protection. But how much difference would this technical change make? After all, judges are supposed now to charge juries in a way that will help them make critical distinctions. See, for example, the charge suggested in *New York Pattern Jury Instructions* (sort of a handbook for trial judges) under "Malpractice—Physicians": "By undertaking to perform a medical service [a doctor] does not—nor does the law require him to—guarantee a good result . . . The law recognizes that there are differences in the abilities of doctors, just as there are in the abilities of people engaged in other activities. To practice his profession a doctor is not required to be possessor of the extraordinary knowledge and ability that belong to a few men of rare endowments . . ."

And if, as Mr. Schmidt suggests, it took only a single expert's testimony to raise a "reasonable doubt" as to a doctor's negligence, would it ever be possible to find a doctor negligent? It is no more in the public's interest to have its doctors completely free of liability than it is to have them driven from the field by malpractice suits.

Mr. Schmidt's piece is a significant contribution to the debate—but we are still looking for the solution.

New York, N.Y. ANDREW LOWIN

Lewis, Martin, and Carter

I'm afraid Malachi Martin pays the Devil an undeserved compliment in his April 30 column ["The Churches and the Devil"]. Martin's statement that history is the record of "the unabating struggle between . . . a fallen archangel and a God-man" implies a parity between Christ and Lucifer. Yet, as C. S. Lewis points out in the introduction to *The Screwtape Letters*, t Devil is a subsidiary and derivative bei whose opposite is not God but the Arc angel Michael.

In an age of skeptics, I suppose a f people of Martin's stripe are needed as kind of antidote; but his dualism seems me both morbid and heretical.

New Haven, Conn. I. M. ZINCAVA

In John R. Coyne Jr.'s article on Jimr Carter it is stated that the conversi of C. S. Lewis was like that of Carter, tl is, a mystical "oceanic experience." I do r believe that this is correct. Lewis describ it in his autobiography *Surprised by Joy* follows: "I was driven to Whipsnade o sunny morning [September 28, 193 When we set out I did not believe th Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and wh we reached the zoo I did. Yet I had n exactly spent the journey in thought. N in great emotion. 'Emotional' is perha the last word we apply to some of t most important events. It was more li when a man, after long sleep, still lyi motionless in bed, becomes aware that is now awake."

One negative aspect of the charisma movement is the idea that unless we ha a mystical encounter like Jimmy Carter there is something wrong with *us*. C. Lewis, in an interview with Sherwood Wirt in May 1963, said: "There are ma different ways of bringing people into F Kingdom, even some ways that I special dislike."

Boulder, Colo. FRED R. GLAI

On Joining the Club

While James Burnham's point regardi the "Whipping Boy Club" [June 25] is w taken, he seems to have been a bit has in mentioning Israel as an associate mer ber, alongside Chile and South Africa.

Of all the WBC's members and asso ate members, Israel is the only one whi has a genuinely democratic form of go ernment and which tolerates complete p litical freedom; this is a crucial distinctio

One further observation: Mr. Burnha asserts that "The governments of all WB members . . . are right-wing." Israel

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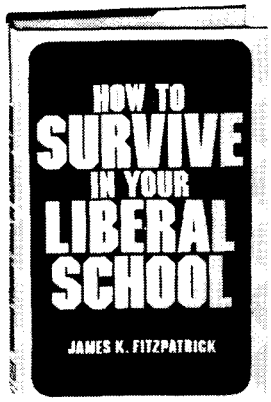
If you could give to a student you love a book that would protect him from the liberals, would you deny him that book?



The U.S. is a bloodsucking, imperialistic exploiter. The difference between what you believe and what a Communist says is just a matter of opinion. If America were socialist there wouldn't be any pollution. The U.S. started the Cold War.

Sound familiar? It should, to the average student in an American high school or college today.

Most teachers are now liberals. Many are radicals. Their attitudes on politics, morals and economics turn most schools into battle grounds for moderate and conservative students. James Fitzpatrick knows. He has been a public high school teacher for the past ten years. While most of the moderate faculty members have been keeping their mouths shut (they'd rather not open up in this radicalized world), Mr. Fitzpatrick is one of those who dares to speak out.

In this hardhitting book, Jim Fitzpatrick looks hard at the liberal cliches, then shreds them. He explains what the radical teachers are up to, and why most moderates feel safer keeping quiet. More important, he shows where the biases of the radicals and their liberal cohorts come from. Aimed at the student trying to make sense out of the classroom scene, this book salvages sanity from the New Left rhetoric that stifles every other point of view in most schools.

Using the commonsense approach, Jim Fitzpatrick explores typical biases against patriotism, religion, capitalism, anti-Communism and taboo lifestyles like the hunter's. Jim comes right out and says it: education does *not* mean teaching students that the values of their parents are wrong, or that things like pornography are just a matter of opinion. Don't disrespect your teachers in their role as teachers, Jim advises; but meet the challenge of thinking for yourself (something the liberals always preach but seldom act on).

Mr. Fitzpatrick doesn't shrink from thorny issues like "McCarthyism" and sex education. He gives the *other* side. (Yes, Virginia, there *is* another side.) And he does it in a direct, "no bull," often amusing style. If you're having a problem picking your way through the educational land mines, you'll like this book. Most of your teachers won't.

Cartoons by Mary Gauerke of *National Review*

NOTE TO PARENTS

If you're not sick over what goes on in Johnny's school, then you've been looking the other way. It's time you knew. And time you armed Johnny to defend himself.

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- Traditions are not "shackles of the past"
- Liberalism: a disease of the heart
- Education does not mean learning "how wrong your parents are"
- Anti-Communism has not become obsolete
- Conservatives are not "racist pigs"
- The New Left does not have all the answers
- You don't have to be a "gun nut" to oppose gun control laws
- Joseph McCarthy: he was not America's "great threat"
- God is not dead
- Sex education: doing your thing is not the right thing
- Is there an answer?

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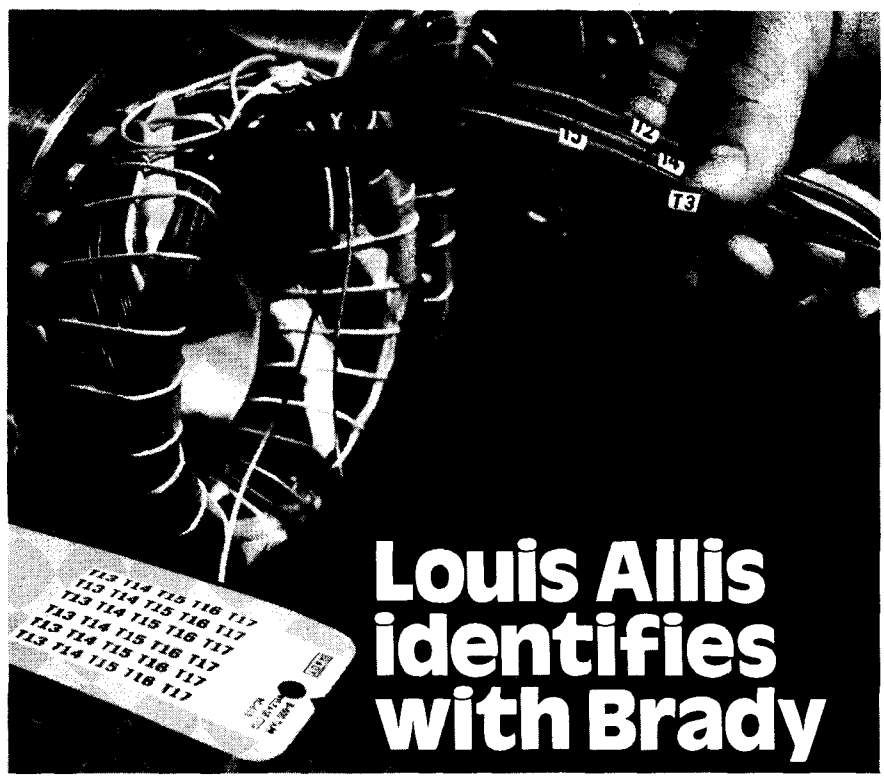

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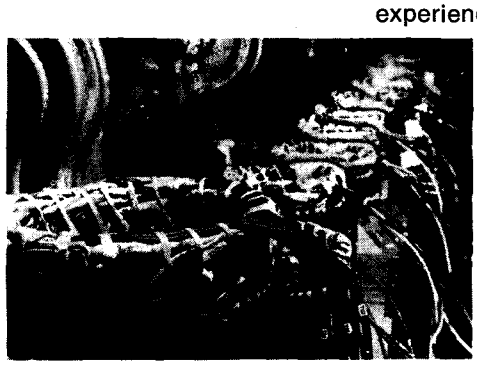

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ruling coalition, while far to the right of, say, Iraq, *is* decidedly socialist; at least as leftist in its ideology as the governing parties of most West European nations.

Hartsdale, N.Y. RANDY MEDOFF

Summer Reading

I see from the letters in the June 25 issue of *NR* that you are receiving a few (albeit friendly) broadsides in regard to your "alternative" Bicentennial Reading List. Permit me to let loose with my pop-gun: *American Graffiti* by George Lucas, Gloria Katz, and Willard Huyck (Ballantine, paperback), the script of the film with some added commentary, a worthy addition to your "Growing Up in America" section, which, incidentally, is already very far from the "fiasco" you describe the corresponding section of the ALA list as being.

Toronto, Ont. KENNETH T. PAWULSKI

As a librarian I am delighted with *NR*'s Bicentennial Reading List. The list produced by the American Library Association should be challenged as an affront to anyone who doubts that two hundred years of American experience add up to Dan Rather's ruminations on the Nixon White House and John Lindsay's "how to" on the government of cities.

Popular wisdom has it, I think, that librarians read books, know what is in them, and are able to discriminate between trivial and significant writing. *NR* may have exposed a well-kept secret: many librarians are no longer librarians.

Scratch a librarian today and you may find: a social planner, a computer technologist, a welfare worker, a politician, a lobbyist, a public relations expert, a pop psychologist, an "information" specialist, a public servant. You may have to look long and far to find a bookman who reads and reads and reads, and who disdains the kind of "book knowledge" that is drawn from one-paragraph Virginia Kirkus reviews.

One should not generalize, but I would guess that if librarians had spent reading books one-tenth of the energy they have spent in pursuing federal funds, the editors of NATIONAL REVIEW would have been spared the necessity of compiling their own list.

Things, indeed, fall apart.

Jefferson City, Mo. CHARLES O'HALLORAN

I was disappointed not to find on your reading list Ludwig von Mises' perceptive *Human Action* (Yale University Press).

Perhaps it should be included, under a new heading—"An Introduction to the American Future"—because, as von Mises has written: "It rests with men whether they will make the proper use of the rich treasure with which this knowledge provides them, or whether they will leave it unused."

Minneapolis, Minn. GEORGE S. BERGH

(Continues on page 765)

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Critical Choices for Americans

Critical Choices for Americans, a fourteen-volume work on urgent problems that face the United States and the world at the beginning of America's third century, will appear through 1976 and into 1977 under the imprint of Lexington Books.

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FOR THE RECORD

■ A new **Jimmy Carter**? Now that his nomination is all but sealed, Jimmy Carter is becoming "more presidential." From now on "It will be more blue suits and less peanut farmer," as one of his aides put it last week. . . . But that course may have its problems. *Washington Post* columnist **David Broder** warns the Carter camp against "**Deweyitis**," a disease "whose symptoms are an unwillingness to say anything for fear of disturbing The Mandate. [Tom] Dewey was so bloody statesmanlike and patronizing," says Broder, "that people got tired of him before election day and turned to scrappy, aggressive **Harry Truman**." . . . Liberal *New York Post* columnist **Max Lerner** writes that he has detected a note of Gaullist grandiosity in the new Carter. . . . Former (and present) Carter political enemy **Lester Maddox** admits that Carter has probably got the Presidency wrapped up already, and adds, sweet and sourly: "He's made history. It's regrettable he's not an honest man."

■ As of his June 25 newsletter, **Kevin Phillips** was still rating **Gerald Ford** 2 to 1 over **Ronald Reagan** at Kansas City. . . . But *New York Daily News* political columnist **James Wieghart** feels that if it is very close in Kansas City it could tilt Reagan's way because, he says, "most of the uncommitted delegates would seem to have already made a negative judgment on Ford's electability." . . . Ford's decision not to get rid of **Henry Kissinger** is popular according to latest **Harris** poll which says Americans approve Kissinger's retention by 52 to 24 per cent; they continue to approve Kissinger's performance by 55 to 38 per cent. . . . Settling of old scores: Sen. **Charles Mathias** (R., Md.), who talked earlier this year of mounting an independent presidential race—Ford and Reagan are too far right for him—has been denied a seat on the Maryland delegation to Kansas City.

Punch Rothco

"And you wouldn't recognize Nigel now—he's one point something meters tall!"

■ Troubles on the left, activity on the right: **I. F. Stone** has quit as contributing editor of *The New York Review of Books*, reportedly in protest over a review criticizing the supporters of **Alger Hiss**. . . . **Pete Seeger** has recently dedicated a song to the Khmer Rouge butchers in Cambodia. . . . President **Richard Lyman** of Stanford admits alumni contributions have dropped as a result of Stanford's hiring **Angela Davis** to teach a course last year. . . . It is that kind of thing that has sparked the publication of *Stanford's Direction*, a newsletter by concerned Stanford alumni to report to other alumni on what is actually going on on campus. Princeton has had such a publication for the last three or four years. . . . The first book that the **Liberty Fund** (director of publications: former *NR* staffer and Arlington House editor **David Franke**) is bringing out is a tribute to **Eliseo Vivas** (*Viva Vivas!*) with chapters by **Hugh Kenner**, **Henry Regnery**, **Russell Kirk**, and **Stephen Tonsor**, among others. . . . Lexington Books is publishing two marvelously useful campaign texts (*Political Campaign Management* and *The Political Campaign Handbook*) by Arnold Steinberg, former chief political aide to Sen. **James L Buckley**. . . . And **Phil Nicolaides**, wh did much of the PR work on Buckley' successful 1970 campaign, now gives a five-minute political commentary twic daily over a Houston radio station.

■ The Glorious Fourth: Bumpy a **George Washington**'s road from Whit Plains to Yorktown. First the bad news **Viking** didn't land on Mars July 4, an the world's **largest flag**—big as a foot ball field—didn't fly from the Verra zano bridge. In a trial run the win blew it out: "The stars are still up," said a workman, "but the stripes ar down." . . . Mount Vernon refused t send **Martha Washington**'s bathing sui to the "Remember the Ladies" exhibi at Pilgrim Hall in Plymouth, Mass. where, incidentally, **Betty Ford** foun out for the first time that **Molly Pitche** never existed. . . . Those brave soul who had planned to stretch a humar chain across the country from sea t shining sea gave up on the idea: lack of organization, they said. . . . Wiscon sin dairy men informed the Smithsonia they couldn't, after all, deliver a **Liberty Bell** carved of prime Wisconsi cheese. Problem: refrigeration plus basi physics—a carved neck of cheese wil not support a bell bottom. . . . But—and here's the good news: Philadelphia did get its five-story-high, 25-ton, basketball-court-sized **birthday cake**, on which were depicted 120 scenes from the Declaration of Independence to the moon landing. . . . The massive encampment of wagon trains from the fifty states made it to **Valley Forge**. . . . In New York a nearly delinquent **Corps of Engineers** dredged up seven feet of glunk from the Harbor that would have blocked the mooring site for the Tall Ships, after a quickie authorization from Congress. . . . Lake, Pennsylvania inaugurated its **UFO landing field**, surrounded by red, white, and blue lights, a "welcome pad for the future."

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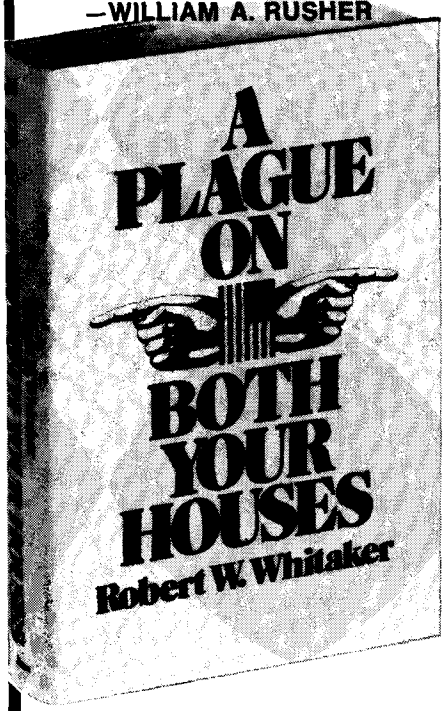
"An exciting book: a real blockbuster."
—WILLIAM A. RUSHER



Proclaiming the revolt of America's middle class against both Democratic and Republican programs

This provocative book contends that time is up for the liberal, education, and welfare establishment of today and explains how now, as before in our history, a people's movement will be instrumental in overthrowing it.

Whitaker shows clearly that our present establishment no longer represents us because both our political parties are captives of interest groups who push policies and programs despite public opposition. We have stopped believing that busing, criminal rehabilitation, or the welfare system can solve problems such as integration, crime, or poverty. Social policy has failed and yet the programs continue, supported by our tax money.

Whitaker speaks for an American majority that is no longer willing to be "silent." And his book, *A Plague on Both Your Houses*, is a proclamation of revolt. It is one of the most important books you can read in this critical election year.

A ROBERT B. LUCE BOOK

$9.95 at bookstores or direct from David McKay Company, Inc. 750 Third Ave., New York 10017

LETTERS

(Continued from page 762)

My Gawd, I think you have found the divining stone.

In the May 28 issue we have "Big Brother's Reading List." At the same time, we have political campaigns up to the neck—and a big government, supposedly administered by leaders either approved by or elected by the citizens of the United States of America.

Let's put these things together, *à la* the best procedures of the head-count school of political science:

1. Somewhere in your organization someone has determined which of the works listed in your reading list are "conservative" or "liberal"—or at least lean one way or another.

2. Why can't we, as individuals in pursuit of the truth, inquire into the orientation of those who are running for office, or wish to influence public opinion? It seems to me that honest answers (if we could get them) would show "profiles" more susceptible to intelligent analysis than official campaign positions.

The methodology I suggest would be as follows:

1. Send out the "Big Brother" list and ask each respondent to indicate which books he has read.

2. Then ask the respondent, Do you generally agree with the author's point of view?

Could we not tell—could not anyone tell—from the results of such a poll just where the candidates or opinion-makers stand? Would this not be useful to the electorate or to what is left of the reading public?

I suspect my project is quixotic, but I'd really like to see how a Carter, a Ford, or a Reagan would answer.

Arlington, Va. DAN C. DWELLE

Liberty, Equality, Sorority

Thanks a million for the editorial "Madison Avenue Equality" [June 25].

Since our U.S. Senate voted $5 million to the liberated women to spend on getting the Equal Rights Amendment passed, we who are trying our best to protect American women from the dangers of the ERA are now having to meet this flood of advertising. We in STOP ERA have all the arguments on our side, but the big question is: Can reasonable arguments compete with big money and high pressure tactics? The opposition has no public funding, so we are helpless against the false statements in the advertising (example, the Edith Bunker ads).

Such editorials as yours are tremendously helpful, and I am sending copies to our legislative delegation in Montgomery, Alabama, where the proposed ERA has been introduced for ratification.

Huntsville, Ala. MRS. NAT EDMONDSON
Chairman
Madison County STOP ERA

YOU SHOULD OWN A COPY OF NR'S NEW READING LIST

(and so should any student you care about!).

(Use the coupon below to get as many copies as you need today, supply limited.)

NR's special new listing of important books (invaluable to any student) has been *specifically* designed as a strong dissent from "Big Brother's" list—the quasi-official "Bicentennial Reading List" recently published by the American Library Association (with federal encouragement and *money*). NR's editors believe "Big Brother's" list is seriously defective, both in quality and in its left-leaning tendencies, and have therefore compiled their *own* list. We published the entire thing—almost 300 listings, along with thumb-nail descriptions of the most important ones—along with a detailed criticism of the ALA list in our May 28 issue. Since then, we have been bombarded with requests for additional copies . . . So we've put the whole thing into a handy reprint which is now available for *just $1 per copy* (we'll pay the postage and handling involved). You probably know at least several people who should read this eye-opening reading list—certainly every student you care about should have a copy! Use the coupon below to order right now: our supply is limited (it's much bigger than an ordinary reprint) and we may not be able to go back to press—so get your copies while they last!

National Review, Dept. L
150 East 35 Street
New York, N.Y. 10016

Please send me____copies of your NR Reading List, for which I enclose $_____. *(Please enclose payment of $1 per copy—thank you—we pay all postage and handling.)*

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THE WEEK

■ It is reliably reported that the 180 toilers of the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration will finish up their duties and close up shop, oh, along in 1977, sometime, probably.

■ The National Education Association, composed of 1.8 million teachers, is preparing to endorse Jimmy Carter later this summer. Although the organization has in the past eschewed partisan politics, it has been made despondent of late by two Republican Presidents insufficiently solicitous of the educational pork barrel. Perhaps, if he becomes President, Carter, who supports the public employment scheme laid out in the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, will be willing to repay the NEA by supporting the introduction into the public schools of courses—for credit, of course—in square dancing, rattlesnake kissing, and grape-juice making, together with the institution of teacher-training programs aimed at producing qualified instructors for such courses.

■ Liz Ray had some great titillations, all right, but she wasn't the only whore in government and she didn't lie about it. House Majority Leader Thomas O'Neill has been caught, and he did lie. It seems Mr. O'Neill put a lot of pressure on the Department of Housing and Urban Development to grant an *$88-million* rent subsidy ($2.2 million a year for forty years) to a corporation headed by Mr. James Wilmot. Mr. Wilmot is a fat cat Democrat contributor to, among others, Mr. O'Neill, congressional Democrats, and Governor Hugh Carey of New York, whose taxpayers were permitted to finance 95 per cent of the construction costs of Mr. Wilmot's solid gold apartment building. Confronted with these facts by a *New York Times* reporter, Mr. O'Neill denied having talked to HUD at all, until HUD Secretary Carla Hills confirmed the calls. Then Mr. O'Neill changed his story and said, quote, "I'd do it for anyone." We'll bet you would, O'Neill. But not for the piddling 14 thou Liz Ray was asking.

■ More and more Americans agree with the statement that a worker should be able to "hold a job whether or not he belongs to a union"—62 per cent in 1971, 68 per cent in 1974, and 75 per cent today, according to the National Right to Work Committee. But not so James Earl Carter. In 1971, Governor Carter said that he was in favor of keeping Georgia's right to work law; in 1976, candidate Carter has come out for repeal of the section of the Taft-Hartley Act that allows Georgia to have its right to work law. It is heartening to see, as politicians migrate to Washington, how the feathers of provincialism molt away.

■ As of this week, one-twentieth of the history of the Republic has been passed in the company of Medicaid and Medicare, two of the principal brainfruits of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society. Despite such scandals as surrounded Bernard Bergman, whose nursing-home ripoffs were, so to speak, children of Medicare; despite the burgeoning of a vast army of government snoopers drafted to prevent such miscarriages as the Planning for People effort; and despite the enormous price inflation that has attended increasing demands for medical services under these programs, there are yet a goodly number of people who go around deploring Medicaid-Medicare on the grounds that they have proved co-optive: that this aid to the poor and the elderly has had the effect of relaxing public indignation over the absence of an all-inclusive health-care system, i.e., of national, compulsory health insurance. Although such relaxation of the public muscle might suggest, to a thoughtful person, that the American public finds the present—and still predominantly private—system to be perfectly adequate to its needs, there is the type (Teddy Kennedy, Jimmy Carter) that doesn't learn from experience.

■ A fortnight ago the *New York Times Book Review* got around to George Nash's *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America* (a long excerpt from which appeared last fall in *NR*'s twentieth anniversary issue). The dyspeptic reviewer, Philip Rosenberg, began by denouncing conservatism as such, inferred squintingly that Nash was a conservative, and went to work, furiously splattering ink over his allotted page. Some of his assertions, assuming he even read the book through, are simply lies (Nash writes at length about each of "all the interesting questions" Rosenberg accuses him of missing), and the whole thing is intellectually shabby. Of course, to say that is in a way to miss the point of this sort of review, which is not the intellectual purpose of refuting error, but the social function of distributing disgrace and imposing conformity. It is no defense of Rosenberg to observe that he seems not even to know the writings surveyed by Nash's book. But it does make one wonder why the book was assigned to him at all, and why the *Review*'s editors so contemn their readers' in-

No Way

If juicing up the GOP
Means running Reagan as VP,
I say we ought to sack the nurse
And send the doctor for the hearse;
Then, once the body's laid to rest,
Conservatives can plan with zest.

W. H. VON DREELE

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

During the last week of June, Washington was blanketed with its first soggy, smothering heat wave of the year, and the weather seemed to match the mood of the city's Republicans. During the early primary months, the atmosphere was jittery, uncertain. But now a fatalistic feeling has settled in, with end-of-an-era symptoms apparent at all levels of government. At the highest levels, it's every man for himself. Transportation Secretary William Coleman badmouths the Administration publicly. Mathews at HEW has given up all attempts to reform Medicare and Medicaid and spends much of his time in Alabama, gearing up for his Senate race. Kleppe at Interior, perhaps the least respected of the Cabinet members, is reportedly negotiating for a lobbying job. Elliot Richardson, whose recently published book was originally intended to strengthen his credentials as a vice presidential choice, may soon announce that he has accepted an academic appointment. Treasury's William Simon, also talked of as a likely vice presidential pick, is writing a book in which he discusses his experiences under Nixon-Ford and says goodbye to Washington.

The books by Simon and Richardson may be the last of the post-Watergate flood. Former Nixon and current Ford staffers, rushing to cash in on their experiences while there is still interest, report that contracts are increasingly hard to come by and the advances are shriveling. Publishers and agents who scour Washington for books are now turning off on the-way-it-was books in general, and are instead on the lookout for how-we-did-it books from Carter people.

■ If the Democrats take the White House in November, many Republicans who worked for it will remember it best for the legacy that wasn't. Much was made during the Watergate days of the attempts to pack the bureaucracy with Administration loyalists. And many Nixon Republicans were given upper level jobs in the departments and agencies, although far fewer than during the Democratic years. But now those Republicans expect to be axed. Most of them are "Schedule C" appointees—political appointees who enjoy all the benefits of the career civil service but who serve at the pleasure of the President and can therefore be dismissed on the spot. In the past, the practice has been to send a steady stream of such appointees out into the bureaucracy during the course of an Administration, and to increase that stream to a flood when the Administration was ready to go out, the Schedule C appointees then taking a cut in pay and reverting to career civil service status just before the new Administration came in. But thanks to Watergate, the Civil Service Commission is reluctant to process applications, and most Nixon-Ford Schedule C types will still be political appointees if/when the Democrats come in, which means they'll be fired immediately.

■ The biggest laugh line on the Hill these days is a four-word phrase—The Emerging Republican Majority. The pervading feeling is that November will indeed see the creation of a new American majority. But it will be called the Democratic Party. Congressional gloom is thick, and it grew even thicker as a result of Jimmy Carter's march through Washington in late June, the barons and princelings of the Democratic Party trailing in his wake as he methodically moved from congressional office to office, blessing each of the incumbent Democratic legislators. It had the air of a triumphal procession, and the effect was to buoy Democratic spirits considerably. The anti-Washington mood, which found its perfect symbol in the sex scandals, had every congressional candidate running scared. But during his sortie into Washington, Carter offered his clean coattails to every Democratic incumbent in sight, all of whom grabbed for them. The Republicans, however, have no such coattails to grasp, and will put as much distance between themselves and their presidential candidate as possible. Many Republicans are already refusing to use the word Republican in their campaign literature.

■ There is little significant activity on the Hill. Some legislation, such as moves to break up the oil companies and Ford's busing proposals, while important in concept, is considered frivolous in fact, its primary purpose being to buy votes in November. And under a Carter Administration, neither anti-busing nor anti-oil legislation would receive White House support. What will be pushed, however, is a comprehensive national health insurance program. Health officials and lobbyists here believe that if Carter takes over, national health insurance will be his top priority, and the feeling is that it will sail through.

—CATO

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terests as to subordinate the claims of scholarship to those of a resident political animus.

■ Polish workers struck, rioted, looted, pulled up railroad tracks, and set buildings on fire last week to protest the government's sudden 60 per cent increase in food prices. The government took the step because worldwide inflation and the foreign-exchange situation had raised production costs at least 40 per cent in the course of the last five-year plan, while prices remained frozen. Edward Gierek, having seen his two predecessors forced out by workers' riots, has been making up the difference with government subsidies, which, however, he will be unable to continue unless the Soviet government subsidizes the Polish government for subsidizing the Polish people. The other alternative is to abandon the ludicrous mechanism of fixing prices for five years at a time and, while they are at it, to abandon the entire planned economy. What would really do it is to abandon Russia.

■ There seems no good reason for the public to resent the fate of the mercenaries sentenced to die by the Angolan court, even if, as a matter of habit and presumption, our vote is for clemency. The terms of their entry into the war were plain enough. They lost, and they are paying the price. Even so, the court's dispensation of "socialist justice" must be distinguished from, say, justice. This was a show trial—i.e., one whose verdict was foreordained by the regime itself, for its own purposes. The lesson, intoned the official newspaper of Zambia, is that "mercenaries now serving in Rhodesia . . . [must] not expect mercy when freedom fighters finally catch up

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with them." No charges are expected to be brought against the Cuban freedom fighters.

■ Peace, it's wonderful. For a generation they've been telling us we don't have to worry about Communism because it's just Russian nationalism. And now for the next generation they're going to be telling us we don't have to worry about Communism because it's just Communism.

■ Posters in one Soviet Black Sea resort town used to proclaim it to be "Sochi, city of sun, sea, and sulfur baths." The posters now read: "Sochi, city of nonsmokers." Both Sochians and visitors are forbidden to smoke on the beaches, in public *and private* transportation, and in any public building. Sochi has long been a testing ground for Soviet Naderites. In 1956 it proclaimed itself the first Soviet "no-honking city," and its ban on automobile horns eventually spread throughout the Soviet Union. This is undoubtedly another test case. However, cynics point out that the beaches at Sochi offer about three square feet of sand per person, and that, given the poor quality of Soviet cigarettes—one has to smoke almost continuously to get one's quota of nicotine—the beaches on an average day are as thickly coated with cigarette butts as with people. When you have the absolute power to compel cleanliness, why not use it? Power tends to decontaminate. Absolute power decontaminates absolutely, as Marx said.

■ As of June 1, the Postal Service completed distributing rate charts for the new rates put into effect in December 1975. Perhaps some were delayed in—nah, you've heard that joke.

■ Another first for Big Apolis: It is revealed that of all the 2,000,000 children in New York City, 2,100,000 are on the welfare rolls.

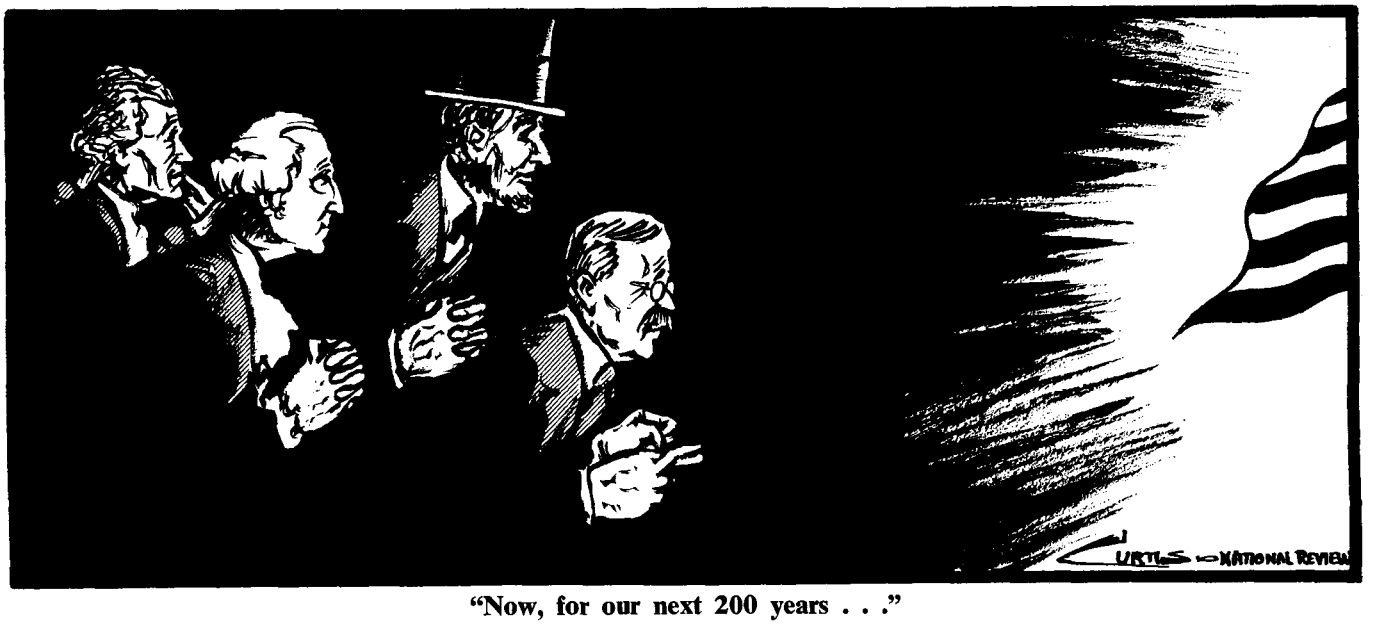
■ President Ford last week opened a Centennial safe containing, among other nostalgic mementoes, a list of all the federal employees in 1876—80,000 of them, presumably ancestors of the 2,800,000-strong swarm of them in 1976, and if that doesn't confirm your worst fears about bureaucratic breeding habits, get out the calculator.

Ford or Reagan?

The identity of the Republican nominee now depends upon a protracted struggle for uncommitted, loosely committed, and wavering delegates. That Ronald Reagan could be in so strong a position today, against an incumbent President, and after his initial primary losses, owes much to his persistence and courage and to his skill as a campaigner. Beyond that, however, it also reflects a Republican Party in transition and still uncertain of its ultimate identity.

To all delegates willing to listen, the Ford and Reagan camps each argue that its man would be the stronger candidate against Carter. On the evidence of the primaries, however, Ford's electoral strength lies in states of the Northeast and Midwest most likely to be carried by the Democrats in November. In 1972, Nixon carried every state in the Northeast except Massachusetts, but it required a national landslide for Nixon to overcome long-term trends and achieve his Northeast victory. No one can believe that Ford is capable of generating the kind of landslide that would once again swing these states into the Republican column. Similarly, Ford beat Reagan soundly in Michigan, but few believe that Ford could carry even his home state against Carter in the fall.

The polls now show Carter to be strong in the South against either Ford or Reagan. Nevertheless, whatever



"Now, for our next 200 years . . ."

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chance the Republicans do have in November would appear to lie in a campaign designed to fight the election in those states that went Republican by the widest margins in 1968 or 1972. That means the Sunbelt region, where the long-term trends appear much more favorable to the Republicans. Even if unsuccessful this year, such a strategy would almost certainly prove to be more promising for the future of the party. On the basis of the primaries, Reagan must be considered, by any reckoning, the stronger Sunbelt candidate.

Furthermore, despite the volatility of public opinion this year, either Ford or Reagan will probably emerge from the Kansas City Convention as the clear underdog in a race against Carter. Any chance of success will therefore depend on an aggressive, articulate campaign designed to split Carter's heterogeneous support on the issues. To ask which of the two, Ford or Reagan, would be more capable of waging such a campaign is, at the same time, to answer the question. Ford is not only a boring campaigner but has hopelessly compromised himself on such issues as busing, the Panama Canal, detente, and identification with the Washington *status quo*.

Quite possibly, much will depend upon a debate or series of debates between Carter and the Republican nominee. Carter, indeed, has already shown some nervousness over that prospect, no doubt with the thought in mind that he could find himself facing Reagan before a nationwide TV audience.

Doldrums

Though the first leg of the 1976 presidential race has had its share of exciting primaries and startling reversals, it has been unusually devoid of issues. Ronald Reagan was taken to task for his positions and alleged positions on Rhodesia and the Panama Canal; and other potentially divisive topics—busing, abortion, and Humphrey-Hawkins—have been floated. But the attacks on Reagan form a special case, a kind of exorcism ritually performed on all conservatives, while none of the other issues has succeeded in capturing the public's imagination.

Some of the torpor is due to the primary style of Jimmy Carter, whose obfuscatory talents developed to the point where he could "personally oppose" busing, abortion, and homosexuality at the same time that he supported legislation effectively sanctioning all three. But Carter has been exploiting a mood, not creating it; for, as Mo Udall found when he traipsed around Ohio with his little map showing which side of his mouth Carter had talked out of where, nobody cares.

This lassitude has characterized the electorate's response to the congressional races as well. Elizabeth Ray made a temporary break in the boredom, giving hungry Republicans visions of a Democratic Watergate. But public revulsion has so far failed to crystallize into anything more than a general distrust of all incumbents.

All this is bound to change after Kansas City, particularly if Reagan wins the nomination. Carter is not invulnerable, and a clear-cut, two-man race would most likely rouse voters to a greater interest in specifics. But until then, the election will continue to take its cue from the weather—hot, but hazy.

Nixon's Legacy

He didn't cut the budget
  Or fire bureaucrats.
His dialogue with China
  Was like a tabby cat's.
However, though he flirted
  With Communist regimes,
He left us with some lovely
  Conservative Supremes.

W. H. VON DREELE

Wee Tweedledum

Jimmy Carter is attempting to establish for himself a reputation as a global thinker, a turtle capable of carrying the globe upon its shell; he wishes to associate his name with a bright new foreign policy patter that will strike the ear with fresh resonance while assuring the listener that a Carter Administration would not subject American policy to a *bouleversement* that might throw off stride our relations with multifarious furriners. To achieve his ends, Carter delivered a third major foreign policy address to the Foreign Policy Association in New York. This time, he took a swipe at "Lone Ranger" diplomacy—a surefire hit, right off the bat.

But next Carter spoke of the necessity for making "a new architectural effort," with "a growing cooperation among the industrial democracies its cornerstone, and with peace and justice its constant goals." Here Carter is going to find it tough to distinguish his ideas from those of Mr. Kissinger, who had himself just delivered abroad a speech stressing the necessity of an awakened American concern for our relationship with our natural allies in Europe and with Japan. Though Carter seems even less willing than Kissinger to frustrate the Soviet Union—he opposes U.S. arms sales to Africa—and less willing to talk bluntly to the Italians of the potential rift between Italy and the U.S. should the Communists get into the government, differences between the two are slight.

This fact Mr. Kissinger has managed very neatly to turn to his own—and his boss's—advantage. By allowing his office to tell the press, directly after the Carter speech, that the Secretary could live easily with the Carter foreign policy, he managed to deliver slaps both to Ronald Reagan and to Jimmy Carter—whose intellectual originality he was thus dismissing. For, although

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Kissinger aides believe the Secretary would indeed support Mr. Carter over Mr. Reagan in the November race, he nevertheless remains loyal to President Ford, for whose nomination and election he is reportedly hoping: as well as, of course, committed to a) the correctness of his policies as opposed to the feverish schemes of Mr. Reagan; and b) the originality of the ideas of which they are confected, as opposed to the derivativeness of Mr. Carter's ideas.

How to Beat Carter

Though Jimmy Carter now holds solid leads over both Ford and Reagan in the opinion polls, things could change very rapidly after Labor Day when both the public and his Republican opponent begin to focus sharply upon him.

One striking feature of Carter's electoral pattern in the primaries, indeed, might be called the Disappearing Lead. Particularly in the later contests, and beginning with Michigan, Carter often lost as much as twenty points in the last days before the voting, and did so to unlikely candidates such as Mo Udall, Frank Church, Jerry Brown, and the ghost of Hubert Humphrey. Another datum leaps out of the recent polling figures. Fifty-two per cent of those now supporting Carter regard themselves as "conservative" politically. Here lies his peril. These voters support Carter because of Phase I of his campaign; when they begin to catch up to what he is doing in Phase II, many could easily defect.

In Phase I, Carter emerged as a classic "wing" candidate. His strategy was the opposite of the one pursued by McGovern in 1972. McGovern emerged on the left. Carter, correctly judging national trends, ran in the primaries as a moderate-to-conservative. The Democratic Left consisted of Udall, Bayh, and Harris. Throughout Phase I, therefore, Carter impressed himself upon the national consciousness as the *opponent* of such certified liberals. Indeed, the liberal wing of the party reconciled itself to his candidacy tardily and, until now, somewhat incompletely.

Now, in Phase II, Carter has been moving sharply leftward. This phase actually began just before the Michigan primary when Carter began to court the support of confirmed Left establishmentarians like Leonard Woodcock of the AFL-CIO. With Phase II in high gear, Carter now embraces the social welfare bureaucracy (nationalized welfare, guaranteed annual income, national health insurance), the NEA education conglomerate ($20 billion in federal funds for education), the academic Left (national economic planning), big labor (anti-right to work, pro-Humphrey-Hawkins), Vietniks (pardon for draft-dodgers), the professional consumerists (Consumer Protection Agency), the feminists (ERA), and the now aging counterculture (gay rights, marijuana).

An extraordinary package. Carter must have calculated that he could not win without the full support of these liberal and Left interest groups, but clearly his Phase II operation contains enormous risks. The proposals he has embraced go counter to the preferences of a majority of the electorate as measured by every available index. Carter apparently is willing to gamble that he can retain the bulk of his Phase I moderate-to-conservative support by appealing to Sunbelt regional pride and by continuing to play his pious and patriotic tunes, while at the same time giving the liberal and Left interest groups everything they desire in tangible matters. Of his moderate-to-conservative supporters he is saying in effect: "Let them eat symbols."

So far, at least, Carter has been succeeding. The polls show him far ahead of Ford or Reagan. But the Republicans have of course been concentrating upon one another, giving Carter a free ride. The electorate will begin to concentrate upon all these matters as the two nominating Conventions unfold, and the voters will begin to make up their minds about Carter sometime around Labor Day.

Decisions, Decisions

The Supreme Court has been busy. Among its more interesting rulings of the past fortnight:

◄ The Court ruled unconstitutional, 5 to 4 (Brennan, Marshall, Stevens, White), a 1974 law extending federal minimum wage and maximum hour standards to cover employees of state and local governments. This modest retreat from the licentious use of the Commerce Clause is welcome.

◄ The Court ruled that state funds may be given to church-related colleges—under certain conditions. The 5 to 4 (Brennan, Marshall, Stevens, Stewart) majority could reach no consensus on what those conditions are, however, though they agree that such monies must not be used to propagate religion. Two of the majority (White and Rehnquist) complicated prospects for an eventual consensus by agreeing with the dissenters that the criterion of excessive church-state "entanglement" is a valid one. This is the first retreat from the fanatical wall-of-separation doctrine since the *Zorach* decision of 1952. Whether this rare Court approval of public funding for religious schools will prove a landmark or an anomaly is impossible to predict.

◄ The Court ruled, 7 to 2 (White, Rehnquist), that anti-discrimination laws protect whites to the same extent they protect blacks. The decision took no stand on reverse discrimination and affirmative action programs as such, but can hardly help counteracting them. It is a genuinely liberal ruling, a promise that the state will remain color-blind, even when butting into areas where it has no proper business (as in the case under review, which had to do with an employer who fired his workers along racial lines without involving legal sanctions).

◄ The court ruled, 6 to 2 (Marshall and Brennan), that federal courts cannot require annual revision of school district boundaries in order to remedy presumed after-effects of proven racial gerrymandering. Once the busing process has begun, in other words, the courts have no mandate to stanch the inevitable white flight,

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REAGAN FOR PRESIDENT?

What do we *really* know about the man who may be our next President? Many of us (conservatives included) tend to *think* we know more about Ronald Reagan than we actually do (perhaps because he is such a familiar personality). But when you get right down to it, how much *do* you know about him?

What *was* his record as Governor of California? What is his *real* position on Social Security? Why did his income tax proposal stir up such a fuss (his views on this subject should be read by every taxpayer in the country)?

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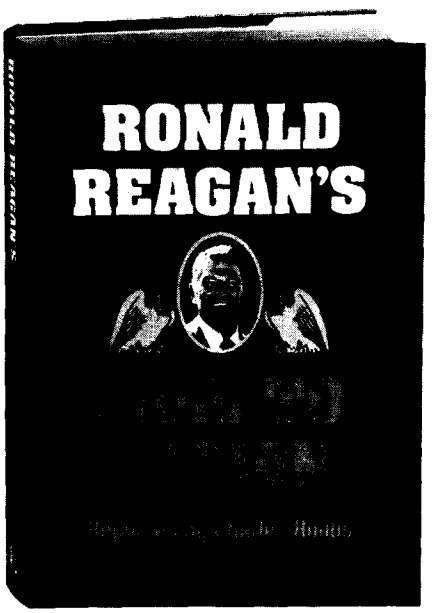

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or to try to compensate for it by perpetual redistricting. Coming on the heels of the Court's refusal to review the Boston busing case, this amounts to a qualified reaffirmation of the commitment to racial integration, but tempered by a recognition of social reality. It probably renders nugatory (if it wasn't already so) President Ford's proposal to limit to five years the length of time a busing program may be imposed. It may also mark the end of what Irving Kristol, in a witty essay on the subject, identifies as a small but influential fanaticism which has regarded integration less as an ideal than a fetish—and has, true to Santayana's epigram, redoubled its efforts when it has forgotten its reasons. (What *does* busing "remedy"?)

◄ The Court held, in another 7 to 2 (Rehnquist, White) ruling, that private segregated schools violate the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which gave blacks an equal right to "make and enforce contracts." This preposterous finding repeals the facts of history and the laws of logic. As Justice White pointed out in his dissent, nobody ever supposed the Act was intended to mean such a thing; it is plainly the freedom of segregationists to make contracts that is being violated, inasmuch as the essence of a contract is free and voluntary agreement on both sides. Once again the Court is trying to make laws just by making them all but meaningless. To be free, after all, is to have the power to do the benighted thing: and that remains as true in politics as in morals.

The Taiwan Connection

After Richard Nixon's pilgrimage to Peking in 1972, there were widespread predictions, in both hope and apprehension, that our opening to the East would quickly be followed by our formal diplomatic recognition of the Peking regime as China's sole legitimate government, a correlated diplomatic break with the Taipei government, an abrogation of our 1955 defense treaty with Taipei, and not long thereafter the political absorption, by one method or another, of Taiwan into the Mainland.

This is not the way things have happened. Most of the nations that had had official diplomatic relations with Taipei prior to 1972 did switch to Peking, but the United States has not done so; nor has the U.S. canceled the defense treaty, although the military and naval units assigned to Taiwan have been much reduced. Moreover, many of the nations that formally broke with Taipei have continued active and unofficially friendly economic relations. This is notably the case with Japan, which has been Taiwan's principal trading partner. Tokyo made the diplomatic switch to Peking, but Tokyo and Taipei, by the exercise of common sense and ingenuity, have found it possible to continue large-scale trade, tourism, and cultural relations so successfully that Asian specialists now refer to the "Japanese formula" as a means for resolving the apparent "either Peking or Taipei" dilemma.

There have been persistent rumors this year that—as one recent newspaper editorial put it—"the Ford Administration is preparing to recognize the People's Republic of China and repudiate our treaty with Taiwan," and will do so once the election is out of the way. A number of the old China hands who were early admirers of Mao's agrarian reforms have been expressing their belief or hope that these moves will soon be made. In what must be surprising to at least some of its faithful readers, the *New York Times*, which has never been known for any warmth toward Taiwan, is viewing this prospect with sobriety and prudence. We take unusual and undiluted pleasure in quoting from its editorial of June 17:

"Taipei has survived expulsion from the United Nations and a switch by most of the world to diplomatic relations with Peking because the American commitment has provided enough stability to keep Taiwan's economy thriving. . . . The future of 14 million Taiwanese, who do not want to be absorbed by the Communist Mainland, would become problematical if the United States withdraws its backing. The credibility of American defense guarantees to Japan and other countries might also come into question. . . .

"Significantly, Peking does not seem to be in as much of a hurry to 'normalize' relations as some Western analysts assert. There has been little pressure on the Ford Administration through official channels. . . . The United States may find Peking less interested in Taiwan right now than in acquiring Western technology and credits to aid economic modernization and replacement of obsolete military equipment on China's long Soviet border. . . .

"The geopolitical facts of life in the Soviet-American-Chinese triangle require efforts to improve relations with Peking. But there are many ways to do this short of abandoning 14 million Taiwanese."

A Midsummer Weekend's Dream

The heads of government of the seven major democratic industrial powers, among them accounting for two-thirds of world production, helicoptered up the Puerto Rican summit with 40,000 Marines, Secret Service chaps, aides, secretaries, translators, reporters, and Puerto Rican separatists strewn out along their trail; the leaders of the seven major democratic industrial powers helicoptered down from the Puerto Rican summit and they are not likely to try that particular journey e'er again. There are slim pickings from most of the multinational conferences that blossom by the thousands nowadays, but this Puerto Rican palaver achieved the closest yet to a perfect vacuum. Still, the Dorado Beach complex, sealed off for the duration, is what the prohibited journalists described rather longingly as "an oasis of tropical splendor," even if not quiet as stylish as the French Château de Rambouillet, where the predecessor conference in this series

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was held. And the chiefs of the Italian, American, Japanese, French, West German, British, and Canadian governments, all of them in tight political binds at home, had a chance to think of themselves for a couple of days as world leaders above such petty concerns as a rival candidate baying at their heels, a prosecutor looking into Lockheed payments, polls showing a steady rise of support for the opposition, a tough election due in October, a currency falling through the floor, or a slick Communist getting ready to do who knows what.

The mass of journalists, roped in twenty miles away, was allowed to send a small platoon inside the charmed circle briefly each day to garner such enchanted items as: "[Japanese Prime Minister] Miki was greeted by President Ford. They posed for pictures and chatted briefly. Nothing was audible. . . . Kissinger was greeted by Brent Scowcroft, assistant to the President for security affairs. He was approached by reporters, and when asked about the conference he said it was being held 'mainly to review the international situation with a particular emphasis on economics.' . . . [British Prime Minister] James Callaghan in a moment of levity fingered Mr. Kissinger's cream-colored ultrasuede sports jacket. . . . The Secretary of the Treasury, William E. Simon, wore a pink coat and green plaid jeans. . . . President Ford's Sunday dinner included roast prime beef, bibb lettuce salad, and *petits fours*. . . . Several members of the American delegation were observed lounging about, not appearing to be doing any particular preparatory work."

Call for Robert Bruce

Civil war broke out in Lebanon between the Christian Maronite minority and the leftist Moslem majority last fall. Since then there have been: 1) a presidential election but no new president (President Franjieh having refused to resign and President Sarkis therefore not having been sworn in); 2) approximately 35 ceasefires, not one of which has held for more than a few days; 3) a diplomatic intervention by the United States through special envoy L. Dean Brown, which failed; 4) a proposed Syrian compromise, which failed although both sides agreed to it; 5) an offer by France to send a peacekeeping force to the scene, which was refused; 6) an invasion of Syrian troops who attacked the Moslem leftists and their Palestinian allies, thereby relieving pressure on the outnumbered Christians; 7) an Iraqi troop movement toward the Syrian border; 8) a warning by Israel that a concentration of Arab troops along her border with Lebanon might lead to trouble; 9) a suggestion by the Arab League that it send a pan-Arab force of Libyan, Tunisian, and Algerian peacekeepers to the scene; 10) the arrival of some Libyan and Syrian peacekeepers in Lebanon; 11) the kidnapping and assassination of two American diplomats; 12) a partial pullback by Syria from Beirut; 13) a renewal of fighting between Christians and Moslems in that city; 14) a UN Security Council resolution condemning Israel for retaining the West Bank territories won in 1967, which 15) was vetoed by the United States as 16) *NR* went to press.

Rule by Decree

When Catherine waved a dainty hand,
The peasants quaked in Samarkand;
Likewise, when Louis XIV frowned,
Reverberations were profound.
Today, if I were asked to name
A man whose power seemed the same,
I'd point to Boston, where they flee
The rulings of Judge Garrity.

W. H. VON DREELE

Living Well Is the Best Revenge

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters is joyfully, and frankly, an anti-social organization: its members—officers and rank-and-file alike—lead, day after day, riotous lives in the workers' paradise that is the United States of America, only to awake in the morning, not with hangovers and guilt pangs, but with a renewed and brimming appetite for merry mischief. Two of their last three presidents—Messrs. Jimmy Hoffa and Dave Beck—have served prison sentences; the former gentleman, who disappeared last summer and was presumably dispatched from this vale of tears via a garbage dump or refuse-disposal system, has been amiably forgotten. The Brotherhood wastes no time wringing its hands over the plight of the proletariat, only the truck-driving members of it: year in and year out, they harass the United Farm Workers, and probably spend many of their leisure hours tormenting dogs and small children. At the Teamsters' convention in Las Vegas last week, Frank Fitzsimmons, the union's president, said: "To those who say it is time to reform this organization and it's time the officers stopped selling out the members of this organization, I say to them, 'Go to hell.' " One lone dissident was beaten, kicked, and gouged in the course of an attendant social function.

The Teamster rank-and-file delights in the spectacle of its top brass swelling ever fatter and more resplendent: it is not in the least corrupted by proletarian envy. The membership has, in fact, recently agreed to suffer a hike in dues so that Fitzsimmons' salary might be boosted by 25 per cent to $156,250, and that his traveling might be accomplished by Lear jet; when William Presser, a past vice president of the Brotherhood—who in 1971 pleaded guilty to the charge of taking money from the exploitative employers, better known throughout the world as enemies of the people—rose to greet the convention, he was accorded a tremendous ovation.

At present, however, the looming threat to the Team-

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sters Union is the United States Department of Labor, abetted by the Internal Revenue Service. The Labor Department is considering bringing civil action against the trustees of the Teamsters' largest pension fund (Central States) for allegedly loaning several hundred million dollars to dubious enterprises paying neither principal nor interest on the money, and for providing kickbacks and "finders' fees" to the worthies who arranged these loans. And now the IRS, which has been examining the annual reports that the Pension Fund, as a tax-exempt institution, has been filing yearly, has revoked the Fund's tax-exempt status, retroactive to 1965. Although the Government argues that by virtue of a complicated set of rules and restrictions, many workers are ineligible for pensions, Mr. Fitzsimmons insists that 93 per cent of those who make application get their money. But the rank-and-file is unlikely to challenge Mr. Fitzsimmons on this point, whether it be valid or invalid. For the Teamsters, taken man for man, are content to live well, worry less, and be governed corruptly.

Raising Catholic Consciousness

During the 1960s, in the spirit of ecumenism and *aggiornamento*, Catholic writers and other spokesmen tended to play down that which had been distinctive about Catholicism. Theological distinctions moved into the background, and hymns into the foreground. Ecclesiastical manners and costume underwent assorted modifications. Seminaries, to the satisfaction of many spokesmen, became bare ruined choirs. Catholic colleges and universities frequently became indistinguishable from secular institutions, and some, with the zeal of reverse converts, outdid the secular institutions in funky liberationism.

In the spirit of ecumenism, moreover, Catholics worked hard to achieve and expand a rapprochement with the Jews; again, in the spirit of *aggiornamento*, Catholic officials and other spokesmen staked out common ground with secular liberals. Over the years, Father Andrew Greeley, sociologist and intellectual gadfly, has been an accurate barometer of Catholic moods, and it therefore may be significant that he has begun to turn a critical gaze upon both Catholic–Jewish and Catholic–secular-liberal relations.

Recently, for example, he indecorously told a meeting of the American Jewish Committee in Washington that "There is a strong and powerful anti-Catholic feeling in the Jewish community." He went on to point out that the Catholic stand on abortion gets no organizational help whatsoever, let alone sympathy, from the Jewish community, and no help on the issue of federal aid to parochial schools. Then, another indecorous observation: "I am not prepared to say how much of the interminable hectoring about separation of church and state is cryptobigotry, but some of it surely is, and the nasty, vicious tone of the opposition leaves little doubt that there is more at stake than constitutional principles."

Greeley's themes here, moreover, were picked up and expanded upon by writers in the diocesan press. In *The Pilot* (Boston) on June 11, for example, Thomas P. McDonnell discussed Greeley sympathetically and then added some points of his own. Norman Lear's popular TV dramas, he charged, are snidely anti-Christian. Furthermore, said McDonnell, "It's a dreary thing to Catholics that there are Jewish writers who just can't seem to leave Jesus alone—as in *The Brothers*, by Chayym Zeldis, or in potboilers like Irving Wallace's *The Word*, or in pseudo-histories like those of Hugh J. Schonfield (*The Passover Plot*) and others, whose collective aim seems to be the popular discreditation of Jesus Christ."

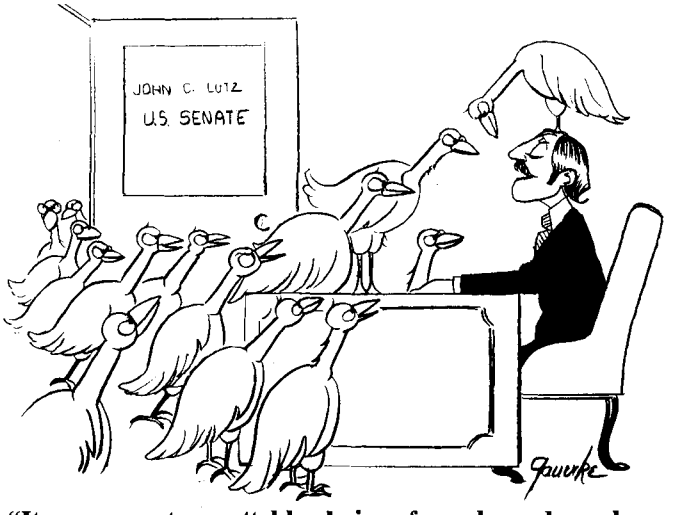
While that particular cultural pot was boiling, Greeley lit the burner under another one. Writing in the *Chicago Tribune* on June 10, Greeley made some entirely accurate observations about the divergent interests of Catholics and some liberals:

"That 'liberals' have a double standard on matters of international oppression is now so well known that it hardly needs to be further documented.

"They worry a lot about oppression in Chile but don't notice it in Cuba. They are skeptical about Spain's tentative movements toward democracy but forget about what happened to Czechoslovakia and Hungary. They never ask when the last time was that a 'socialist' government had a free election like Portugal just did. They use the word 'genocide' in talking about South African racism. . . . But they ignore (when not celebrating) the genocide being committed against Maronite Christians in Lebanon. You see, the Moslems are 'Leftists' and the Maronites are 'Rightists.'

"Never mind that the only way the Maronites got their superior economic position was by hard work; never mind that if it were not for their work Lebanon would be as desperately poor as the other Arab countries. The Maronites are defined as 'right-wingers,' and thus they must be swept away by the wave of history.

"Besides, the Maronites are Catholics. When is the



"It was a most regrettable choice of words, and you have my assurance: I will never, never again refer to my opponent as a 'dumb goose.'"

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last time a 'liberal' worried about oppression of Catholics in, say, Lithuania or Poland? Or in Loyalist Spain during the Civil War, or in Mexico during the 1920s and '30s, or in Ireland at almost any time?

"But the worst silence of the liberals is on Cambodia . . ."

Notes & Asides

■ Memo to: Bill
From: Priscilla

Women's Lib has really made it. How about my being invited to become a Men of Achievement? I know there are lots of men-women interchangeable names in England (Evelyn, Carol) but I've never run into a male Priscilla.

■ Dear Bill:

In "Notes & Asides" (July 9, 1976) Greg Christainsen asks if you have seen the Ninth and Tenth Amendments lately. My *Constitutional Limits to Union Power* (Council on American Affairs, Washington, D.C., May 1976) provides a few clues as to the whereabouts of the Ninth. Used in conjunction with the Fifth, the Ninth is the complete constitutional barrier to the growth of collectivism in the United States. Unfortunately, for almost half a century opponents of collectivism have very largely relied upon the First Amendment used with the Fifth. Actually, in collectivist cases (compulsory unionism, for example) much of the import of the Fifth is lost unless use is also made of the Ninth. As a consequence, during this period the case records taken to the Supreme Court by litigants protesting the impact of collectivism reveal an imperfect use of the available constitutional defenses against collectivism. To a substantial degree collectivism is a product of the exercise by Congress of its powers under the Commerce Clause. In litigation arising from this use of congressional power the presumption must always be that the congressional action challenged has undermined Fifth and Ninth Amendment economic rights of individuals.

Philip D. Bradley
Washington, D.C.

■ Dear Bill:

I trust there is no ill feeling between you and Bill Rusher. But your cryptic reply to his memo misfires, I think, because the reader is forced to wonder: even if he decides that it was probably in fun, enough uneasy suspicion remains to vitiate the humor he might find in it. You require too much damned deducing to allow the relaxation of laughter. Besides, the vulgarity you play on is by now so publicly familiar, and so widely printed, that to be oblique about it creates an impression of coy glee, as if you had only just heard of it. As a sailor, you surely don't want that thought of you!

Joe Sobran

Dear Joe: As a stylist, you *must* know the uses of a cliché? And as a republican, the uses of affectionate irreverence? If not, advise, and I'll supply reading material.

Bill

Memo to: WFB-PLB-JB-JH-LB-FB-JC-WHD-NH-JJK-KL-DKM-MBM-GN-WFR-FR-MJS-CW-BD-CBL-VM-JBS-TJW-FU2
From: Bill Rusher

The July 9 *NR* was a good issue, but not a *great* issue.

■ To the Editor
Playboy Magazine

Dear Sir:

Karl Hess, replying to your interviewer's question in the current issue of *Playboy* ("Although you admire Buckley, you no longer agree with him. From your point of view, where did he go wrong?"), answers: "He went wrong because, in the end, he actually believed he was preserving God's will. I remember a dinner party Bill had at his place in Connecticut soon after the first issue of NATIONAL REVIEW was published [twenty years ago]. This fellow kept staring at him and finally said, 'You know, Bill, you have the profile of a young Caesar.' Well, instead of being embarrassed by that preposterous remark, Bill reveled in it. And in retrospect, I conclude that people who do not blush when they are compared to Caesar end up being Caesar."

I remember the scene very well. You see, at my dinner parties I try to guide the discussion into profitable directions of common interest and substantial purpose. On the agenda that particular evening was the question: Does my profile more closely resemble that of Julius Caesar, Alexander the Great, or Rudolph Valentino? The argument raged for hours, and I attempted to be entirely dispassionate on the subject, believing as I do in untrammeled democratic authority. The guests were pretty well divided when one of them, with singular authority, announced that my profile is indisputably more like that of Caesar, and although I admit to a certain wistfulness at the rejection of Alexander and Valentino (a strong minority case can be made in their favor), I was secretly pleased that Caesar had won out. I thought I had kept my pleasure safely undetected. But I must congratulate Mr. Hess on his acuity. *He* saw through to my true attitude, even as now he has penetrated to the *real* intentions of God, the Founding Fathers, and Mankind.

Cordially,
—WFB

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The Expendables

The Protracted Conflict

JAMES BURNHAM

THE JUNE outburst of disorder and violence in South Africa did not, of itself, prove that the South African social system is unjust, any more than the 16 years without mass disorder since the Sharpeville episode proved it just. These new disorders did prove, however, that some of the things that South Africa's apologists say about its system are false.

The apologists state not only that 1) the system is just, and 2) the non-white sectors of the population, in particular the blacks, are materially better off than in any black-ruled nation, but that 3) the non-whites are satisfied with the system and the gradual improvement in their lot occurring under it, and 4) the government chosen by the white electorate has things well in hand.

1) I leave moot, and 2) is true, but this new affair has confirmed those who have believed 3) and 4) to be false.

The disorders, this time, were massive. They directly affected several million persons—a substantial percentage of the population. The authorities, who would not overstate the figures, have mentioned nearly 200 deaths, more than 1,000 serious injuries, and material damage of perhaps $100 million. There is no plausible way to interpret this explosion except as a mass protest by the blacks against the South African system—against apartheid.

Like all mass protests, it was in many respects irrational: the blacks destroyed much property that served their needs and provided their amenities; in some cases black ferocity vented itself on black victims; black hoodlums (*tsotsis*) went in for indiscriminate wrecking. Nevertheless, however complex the details may seem, the central meaning of the affair is unmistakable: South Africa's black community was passing judgment on the apartheid system, and finding it hateful. The Afrikaners may call it "separate development," but to the blacks it's the same old racial oppression.

The intensity and spread of the disorders show, further, that the government does not in truth have things so well in hand as its apologists believe, or want the rest of us to believe.

The fact that a social system is hated by the majority of those subject to it does not necessarily mean that the system cannot endure. Ancient Sparta, divided between Spartiate citizens and the subject non-citizen Helots, had an analogous social system that lasted for 700 years. Spartiate rule was uncompromising. Not only was any hint of Helot protest instantly and ruthlessly suppressed. The Spartiates also took care to liquidate any individual Helot who showed potential leadership traits. Occasionally in long and difficult wars, the state called for Helot aid against the foreign enemy. After the war was over, the authorities executed the Helots who had been quickest to volunteer and bravest in battle. (Can the analogy be drawn out to cover the way in which episodes like Sharpeville and now Soweto push forward natural leaders, who can then be jailed or exiled?)

In today's world, however, no nation is an island. Left more or less to themselves, the white South Africans might preserve their bizarre system for generations. But they will not be left to themselves.

Enlarging the Scale

Let us shift from a local and immediate to a global and longer-term scale.

Southern Africa (Angola-Zambia-Mozambique and points south) is potentially one of the world's most important economic regions. It has the world's largest reserves of uranium, chrome, antimony, and other minerals essential to advanced technology, and huge reserves of such other essential resources as gold, copper, iron ore, coal, diamonds, platinum, asbestos, cobalt, manganese, and vanadium. It occupies a strategic location of critical importance for control of the sea route between the Persian Gulf and Western Europe, and more generally for air and sea control of the South Atlantic, the western half of the Indian Ocean, and the passage between them.

The postwar decolonization of northern, central, and part of southern Africa did not mean a total withdrawal of the advanced nations from Africa but simply a change in the form of their presence. The native post-colonial regimes were and are, in any case, incapable of managing their development on their own. The advanced Western nations, along, nowadays, with the Soviet Union and China, continue to seek economic and strategic advantage in Africa in neo-colonial forms.

The first decolonizing phase stopped before reaching Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, and South Africa. The West, pulling out its overt colonial apparatus from northern and central Africa, left the Portuguese, white Rhodesians, and white South Africans as garrisons with the mission of holding out in southern Africa—the richest prize of all—as long as global conditions permitted: a classic disposition of forces in comparable situations.

The collapse of Portugal opened the final decolonizing phase. The Soviet Union (with its Cuban satrapy) moved first, and won a foothold in the former Portuguese territories. In his Lusaka speech three months ago, Secretary Kissinger announced that the time has come for the decolonizing wave to complete its surge through to the Cape. "Dr. Kissinger," the London *Times* summed up, "has committed the United States to black Africa in its struggle with white Africa." The West is ready to abandon the stranded garrisons. Swimming with the tide instead of continuing the attempt to delay its cresting, the Western nations will henceforth seek to preserve and strengthen their stake in southern Africa under the neo-colonial formulas they have been perfecting—not without some success—in the rest of the continent.

Sauve Qui Peut

To make sure the message is understood, the U.S. takes care to dot the i's. In May, millions of dollars are given to Mozambique, where the anti-Rhodesian guerrillas train, arm, and find sanctuary. In June, the U.S. delegate for the first time makes unanimous a double-standard Security Council resolution condemning the South African government for doing as it was done by.

For the expendables, it becomes, as always at the end of this sort of sequence, a question of *sauve qui peut*. □

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PART I. WHY THE REVOLUTION

The American Revolution—Genesis and Meaning

Thomas Wendel

THE BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION may be criticized on grounds less prejudiced and more just than those lately articulated by the grandson of Sir Winston Churchill. The modern dissolution of the British Empire, over which that great man refused to preside, perhaps makes this year for young Winston a peculiarly painful reminder of the dissolving of Britain's first Empire. From a Tory point of view, the American Revolution remains a much-to-be-regretted event. The historian, on the other hand, though grateful for a happening so lastingly profitable to the profession, may find fault with its two hundredth anniversary celebration.

Paradoxical though it may be, the Bicentennial strengthens the anti-historical bias evident in our society. The Revolutionary decades, generally familiar enough, are emphasized; the origins of the Revolution are totally disregarded, as if the Revolution had no history. The Bicentennial fosters historical presentism: past events are sufficient to explain themselves in the light of present predilections.

But if we are to understand the Revolution, we must examine its historical past. Its origins are not to be found in the celebrated years immediately preceding the shooting. Many of our history textbooks start with the year 1763—the Treaty of Paris, which marks the beginning of the Revolutionary decades—as if there had not been a century and a half of American history before that. It is there in those earlier years, and not in the turbulent 1760s and '70s, that the root causes of the separation are to be found.

Yet, in seeming contradiction to my title, I would not be presumptuous concerning an event over which men have argued ever since the first shots at Lexington. Historians, not unlike members of other professions, would prefer to avoid having to make decisions. Lawyers turn to precedent, businessmen to last year's figures, and historians to historiography, the history of history. An historiographical treatment of the present subject would begin with the nineteenth century nationalist historian George Bancroft. Bancroft explained the Revolution as the foreordained culmination of the universal march of democracy. The men of the Revolutionary generations were unsullied heroes. The frontispiece of the third volume of his history features Benjamin Franklin, with the facial blemishes—warts and all—removed; no imperfection must be allowed to mar that race of spiritual giants.

We would next turn to the so-called Imperial School of interpretation. Yale scholar Charles Andrews, for example, in the early years of this century, explained the Revolution as the result of stresses and strains within England's imperial system; the Revolution was the result more of a crumbling imperial machinery than of the dynamics of an alleged democratic Americanization of this side of the world. Andrews and his students carefully traced the rise and decline of the institutions that regulated the British Empire: the Board of Trade, the Royal Governors, the King's Privy Council. In institutional breakdown were the seeds of the imperial collapse.

Progressive historians of the early decades of this century, beginning with Charles Beard, found the Revolution to be due in part to the growing discrepancy between the requirements of the American economy and the expectations of British mercantilism. Andrews and the Imperial School had also written that America's need for greater freedom in the economic sphere put insupportable strains

Mr. Wendel is a professor of history at San Jose State University. His most recent book is Thomas Paine's "Common Sense": The Call to Independence.

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on the ancient imperial machinery. But more importantly, the Progressives pointed to the rising expectations of the new mercantile and professional classes within the colonies, expectations that were stifled by the existence of a ruling oligarchy created through decades of royal control. The Revolution, wrote the Progressive Carl Becker, was fought both for home rule and over the issue of who should rule at home. The Revolution was an internal civil war as well as a war for independence.

Closer to our own day, the New Whig School is likely to take ideas more seriously than economics. An ideology influenced by the radical republican strain in English history had rooted in America. The Americans were metaphorically fighting the English seventeenth century struggle against Stuart absolutism all over again. The Commonwealth ideology of the 1650s was echoed across the seas in the 1770s.

It is tempting to let the matter rest with such an historiographical overview as this. But it is possible to presume too little as well as too much. Let us, then, take the English bull by the horns; historiography provides the foundation. We have still to build the building. And having fallen into the rhetoric of metaphor, not to say mixed metaphor, I have in mind a building containing three rooms, each representing an episode from our early history. I also envision a cupola that may enhance the design.

★ ***Charles demanded to see the Massachusetts Bay charter. Where was it? The colonists, he found, had carried it with them to New England, safely out of his reach***

The building will contain no Stamp Act room, no rooms for the Boston Massacre, the Tea Party, or the Intolerable Acts, not even a Continental Congress room or a tarring-and-feathering room. All of these occurrences are more or less familiar—in fact they are over-familiar, obscuring the fundamental disparities between Britain and her colonies, disparities far more profound than the disagreement over taxation. The Revolution had to do with more than the matter of King George's hands in American pockets. "No taxation without representation" is merely symptomatic. If taxation were the cause of the Revolution, we would be in the midst of revolution today. The more fundamental disparities must not be confused with the familiar events that are results, not causes. There are, however, some less familiar episodes that reach deeply into the colonial past, and that go far to explain the final break.

I. In the 1630s

Our first episode takes us back to the 1630s, the first years of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Its government was constituted by a corporate charter granted by King Charles I, a charter listing the names of the governor, deputy governor, 18 assistants, and six other members forming "one body corporate and politique." In dramatic contrast to previous colonizing ventures, wherein a Crown-chartered company sent employees to the New World, the Massachusetts Bay Company transferred "the government of the plantacion to those that shall inhabite there." Under the majestic leadership of newly elected Governor John Winthrop, members of the corporation and recruits numbering some two thousand persons sailed for Massachusetts Bay in 1630. Emigration would increase their number to twenty thousand within the next decade. Winthrop, Dudley, Saltonstall, Haynes, Cotton, Hooker, and the rest set up a commonwealth separate from England in religion and, in some respects, in law. "We shall be as a city uppon a hill," said Winthrop; "the eies of all people are uppon us." These Puritans, having fled the corruptions of state and church in the Old World, would build their Congregationalist City of God in the New.

But in England, King Charles and his high-church Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, regretted their inadvertently generous grant of land to the Massachusetts Bay Company. Belatedly, they realized that the boundaries of the grant overlapped the legitimate older claims of a group of Anglicans incorporated as the Council for New England.

Charles demanded to see the Massachusetts Bay charter. Where was it? The colonists, he found, had carried it with them to New England, safely out of his reach. He demanded its return. Winthrop procrastinated, stalled, finally refused to return it. Charles, nevertheless, began court proceedings against the charter; making his position all the

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★ *And against whom were the Puritans arming? Not against the Spanish, but against England. Old England and New England might have come to blows back in 1640*

stronger was the imperious action of Puritan John Endecott, who in Boston defaced the royal standard by taking a pair of scissors to it and cutting out the, to him, offensive cross. The action was a symbol of Puritan defiance of Old England; indeed, the Bay Colony had disenfranchised members of the Church of England, persecuted non-Congregationalists, traded with whomever it wished, and trampled on the charter rights of Anglican holders of New World lands.

The ultimate defiance occurred after the Bay Colonists received the news that Charles had authorized a warship to reduce them to compliance. The ship would be captained by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, past governor of the Council for New England. Winthrop and the General Court ordered the arming of the colony. Fortifications were erected at Castle Island in Boston Harbor, at Dorchester, Charlestown, and elsewhere. The militia bands were called into training, each one flying colors from which the King's cross was ostentatiously absent. A council of war of nine members was chosen with Winthrop in command to manage the colony's defense.

And against whom were the Puritans arming? Not against the Spanish, not against the Dutch or the Indians, but against England. Had it not been for the fact that Sir Ferdinando Gorges' ship split in two in the launching (an act of God, said the Puritans) and for the financial stringency of the Crown—and more importantly, the coming of the English Civil War, during which Charles lost his head (first figuratively, then literally)—Old England and New England might have come to blows back in 1640. As it was, Massachusetts Bay and New England continued to enjoy an independent position until 1691, when they were at last nominally brought within the imperial fold, though the tradition of independence was by no means stilled.

II. In the 1740s

Our second episode takes us over a century forward in our history. In the 1740s England was engaged in her third war against France within fifty years, one phase of a hundred and more years of warfare for world empire that would culminate at Waterloo in 1815. This particular struggle in the 1740s, the War of the Austrian Succession, was known to Americans as King George's War. At Cape Breton Island, situated between English Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, France had constructed a monumental fort, Fort Louisbourg, with thick walls thirty feet high supporting 250 cannons and with two adjacent guardian batteries. Louisbourg was known as the Gibraltar of the New World; there could be no security for English America with this French bastion situated to command the Gulf of St. Lawrence and to dominate the key fishing areas and shipping lanes of the North Atlantic coast.

The colonists decided they would take this fort. Command was given to a Maine merchant, William Pepperell. At great expense, the colonies acquired 15 armed vessels and a hundred transports. This almost purely colonial fleet (ultimately joined by a small British naval force of three vessels) made a successful landing before Louisbourg on April 30, 1745. The landing was followed by a torturous siege ending with the surrender of the fort on June 17. There were well over 1,500 casualties, including some 150 to 200 fatalities. Nevertheless, the Americans had pulled off the greatest victory of the war; it was the colonies' most significant military achievement before the Revolution. Great was the rejoicing from Maine to Georgia.

But in the treaty signed by England at Aix-la-Chapelle, to the dismay, anger, and outrage of the colonists, England returned Louisbourg to France in exchange for Madras in India. It was but slight and mocking recompense when England reimbursed the colonists for the expenses they had incurred in the Louisbourg expedition and created a baronetcy for the American commander, who became Sir William Pepperell.

III. In the 1750s and '60s

South Carolina is the scene of our third and final episode. By 1750, this colony had spawned a ruling class which for sophistication, wealth, and power was the most brilliant in colonial America. For hauteur it vied with the landed gentry of England itself. Such men as the Pinckneys, Manigaults, Middletons, and Rutledges formed a planter-merchant aristocracy. Charleston was their sparkling social center, and they governed—one might almost say ruled—from the Commons House of Assembly, which they dominated from the outside or to which they were elected by South Carolina's deferential freemen voting by secret ballot. By mid-eighteenth century they claimed for their representative assembly all the dignities, rights, privileges, honors, and legislative powers of the House of Commons of the Parliament of England.

In 1761, the Crown appointed a new royal governor of South Carolina, Thomas Boone, who, though a native son, typified the patronizing, haughty attitude of many Britons toward "our colonies," those provincials across the seas. Boone, on instructions from England, suddenly demanded enforcement of an old royal claim in the colonies: the assemblies could pass no bills into law until the royal allowance had been granted. Every legislative enactment by the colonial assemblies must include a suspending clause, suspending the bill's operation until (and the time could be six months, even a year or more) the King's pleasure was known. The South Carolina Assembly that met Boone was then sitting under a South Carolina election law of 1759 that had been disallowed because it had no suspending clause. With a wave of his hand, Boone dissolved the Assembly—sent the Pinckneys, Manigaults, Middletons, and Rutledges packing.

This put the people to the expense of a new election, and this House Boone also dissolved. After another election, in September 1762, the House entered a formal complaint against Boone's "precipitate, unadvised, and prejudiced procedure." The royal governor, representative of the Crown in South Carolina, now exposed London's colonial policy: Whether right or wrong, Boone informed the powerful ruling class of South Carolina, he, the royal governor, had absolute power of "adjourning, proroguing, or dissolving an

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assembly, abruptly, precipitately, unadvisedly, for a good, insufficient, or no reason at all." The House returned that it would have no further dealings with Boone; government in South Carolina was at a standstill. The deadlock was broken only when Boone returned to England, leaving in charge the governor's council, which gave way on the points at issue.

★ ***The colonial legislatures, said Governor Sir William Keith, are by no means true legislative bodies—which was neither the fact, nor what Americans believed***

These three episodes, Winthrop's arming of his colony, the return of Louisbourg for Madras, and Governor Boone's autocratic claim, clearly help explain Why the American Revolution. The Revolution, these episodes tell us, occurred:

1. Because secession was inherent in the act of emigration itself. New England, particularly, was a separatist society; the Puritans were willing to fight for their independence within ten years of their settling in Massachusetts.

2. Because the colonists came to believe that England put her interests ahead of America's interests, to America's serious detriment—even danger. America seemed but a pawn in international politics. Louisbourg proved that Americans could defend themselves with or without England's help. More importantly, it sharpened their desire not to see their interests sacrificed to those of England three thousand miles away. Indeed, the great expanse of sea that rolled between England and America symbolized the ever-widening political distance between colonies and mother country.

3. Because of England's challenge to the local authority of the 13 representative assemblies. Virginia, for example, had enjoyed legislative autonomy since 1619. The House of Burgesses was by 1763 a powerful, self-conscious, and proud institution of self-government. Likewise, Massachusetts Bay's town meetings had been sending representatives to the General Court (the colonial legislature at Boston) since the 1630s. The people of Connecticut and Rhode Island, both so-called corporate colonies, not only elected their own legislatures, but also annually elected their governors and other executive officers. The people of Maryland continually struggled for legislative rights against the proprietary governors, the successive Lords Baltimore. Pennsylvanians won the battle against their proprietors, the Penn family, as early as 1701. Annually elected by the freemen, Pennsylvania's Assembly, in spite of the prerogative claims of Penn's governors, made the law for Pennsylvania.

It was an ex-governor of Pennsylvania who would best define the British attitude toward these ancient elective bodies. The colonial legislatures, said Governor Sir William Keith, are but incorporations at a distance, empowered to make by-laws perhaps, but by no means true legislative bodies—which was neither the fact, nor what Americans believed. Each legislature, like that of South Carolina, claimed exclusive legislative powers, claims that were bound to conflict with those of royal prerogative, not to speak of Parliament's assumed role of ultimate imperial authority. As America evolved toward self-government and federalism, Parliament in 1766 declared,

> that the said colonies and plantations in America have been, are, and of right ought to be, subordinate unto, and dependent upon the imperial Crown and Parliament of Great Britain, and that the King's majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever.

This to the colonists was despotism. It was Booneism writ large.

London's parental embrace and America's maturation created unbridgeable divisions within the Empire. Americans found the mother-child metaphor used by Englishmen quite insufferable. Following Parliament's repeal of the hated Stamp Act, the Virginia statesman George Mason parodied the English attitude toward America:

> We have with infinite difficulty and fatigue got you excused this one time; pray be a good boy for the future; do what your papa and mama bid you, and hasten to return them your most grateful acknowledgements for condescending to let you keep what is your own; but if you are a naughty boy, and pretend to judge for yourselves, your parents and masters will be obliged to whip you severely. . . .

Benjamin Franklin, at one time second to none in his British patriotism, became disenchanted with the nation he had revered. Just before Lexington, when some men were still seeking methods of constitutionally uniting Parliament and the American assemblies, Franklin, in England as agent for several colonies, wrote,

> When I consider the extreme Corruption prevalent among all Orders of Men in this old rotten State, and the glorious publick virtue so predominant in our rising Country, I cannot but apprehend more mischief than benefits from a closer Union.

Nor did King George III think any better of the colonists. After the final act of separation—the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783, by which America won her independence—the peevish King wrote,

> Since knavery seems to be so much the striking feature of the inhabitants of America, it may not in the end be an evil that they become Aliens to this Kingdom.

We recognize today that the Revolution attests to certain truisms of historical development. Colonialism carries the seeds of its own destruction. The more mature a society becomes, the more it tends to value self-government. That federalism has been frequently misused as a screen for the protection of discriminatory state practices must not cause us to lose faith in the great principle of local responsibility which is at the heart of the Revolutionary heritage.

And now to affix the cupola promised so long ago. It may not be inappropriate that it be designed by the man who not only best embodies the Revolutionary spirit, but is also one of our foremost architects. In his great first inaugural address, Thomas Jefferson remarked,

> Sometimes it is said that man can not be trusted with the government of himself. Can he then be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the forms of kings to govern him? Let history answer this question.

There, in Jefferson's fine epigram, lies the crux of Why the Revolution. □

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PART II

From Lexington to Independence

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, John Adams believed, "was effected before the war commenced; the Revolution was in the minds and hearts of the people." Adams traced "the radical change in the principles, opinions, sentiments, and affections of the people" back to the early 1760s when Parliament, under the leadership of George Grenville, promulgated a New Imperial Policy. The newness of the policy consisted in parliament's applying to the colonies as a whole principles that theretofore had been applied only sporadically and locally. In so doing, Parliament brought to fruition that which it most feared and that which the colonists would never have achieved by themselves: an intercolonial bond of union in opposition to its policies.

John Adams, as he looked back on the events in which he had played a leading role, did not suggest that a change of sentiments necessarily entailed the creation of independent states within a federal union. The direction of American history up to the Revolutionary 1760s had been, in fact, toward dominion status for the English continental colonies. It was only in 1766, when Parliament declared its supremacy over the colonial legislatures "in all cases whatsoever," that England began attempting to thwart the colonies' inexorable thrust toward autonomy. For them to have achieved complete self-government within the Empire in the eighteenth century would have been truly revolutionary. It would have telescoped a century and a half of the British Empire's history into a moment in time; the dominions gained autonomy only with the Statute of Westminster of 1931.

But unable to foresee the future, or to comprehend the depth of British commitment to parliamentary supremacy over the Empire, the American patriots originally entertained no idea of independence. One month before Lexington, Benjamin Franklin informed William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, that "he had never heard in any conversation from any person drunk or sober the least expression of a wish for separation or hint that such a thing would be advantageous to America." The men of Lexington and Concord did not confront British troops in the name of an independent Massachusetts, let alone an independent United States of America, which term would first appear in the Great Declaration itself.

What, then, in the early morning of April 19, 1775, was the fighting about? Had there been a colonial Cronkite to interview him, Captain John Parker might have said that he and his men fought for liberty, or the rights of Englishmen—or, more sweepingly, the rights of men. Or he might have admitted to a sense of relief that at last he was able to vent his pent-up anger at the tangible symbol of oppression, the Redcoats, who as a haughty occupying army had for several years been creating a smoldering resentment among Massachusetts' people.

There would be 14 months between Lexington and that Second of July when Congress finally passed the resolution of independence separating America from the mother country. During this most crucial period, the idea of reconciliation on American terms slowly gave way to the idea of independence. Both ideas, however, were but means to the goal of self-government. Of the two, independence was the more chancy; it would mean republican government, an eventuality that many theretofore patriot Americans would reject. The loyalists included thousands who had originally opposed parliamentary legislation for the colonies but who ultimately acquiesced in order to avoid the republican alternative.

Except through hindsight, nothing that would necessarily lead to independence could be seen in the conflict at Lexington. Independence was the result of the vicissitudes of

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war. Ideology, however, did play a role in the sense that separation from Britain in the eighteenth century had to mean the demise of monarchy in English America. The task for such polemicists as Paine and Adams, therefore, was to convince a doubting public of the viability of republicanism. In this, the British came to their aid. Britain's every new military action against America further weakened the reconciliationist position.

Following Lexington, the Crown blockaded all colonial shipping, declared the colonies in a state of rebellion, and declared it treasonous to aid them. Britain hired German mercenaries to fight in America and emptied her own jails into her armies; it was appropriate, said George III, remembering that transportation to America was frequently the lot of the convicted criminal, to have convicts fight convicts. The British navy burned Falmouth (now Portland), Maine and Norfolk, Virginia. Governor Dunmore of Virginia offered freedom to slaves who would rise against their masters (hardly endearing the planters to the royal cause). Great battles were fought, most notably the Battle of Bunker Hill.

★ ***Had Britain withdrawn her troops and retracted the claim of parliamentary supremacy before the spring of 1776, the Revolution might have been consummated sans independence***

As the British pressed the war upon America, the everyday decisions necessary for survival (not to speak of the great decision for independence) became the responsibility of the men of the Second Continental Congress who met in Philadelphia shortly after Lexington. This Congress formed the whole of our central government for the next 14 years. Voting by the sixty delegates was by colony, not by head. The delegates were bound by instructions from their constituencies, the assemblies or revolutionary conventions by which they were selected.

Given the extremely varied complexion of the 13 colonial governments, some of these separate assemblies or conventions were fairly good mirrors of popular opinion; others were tight oligarchies that reflected little but the will to remain in power. Some of these constituted bodies were bitterly divided between the two poles, and of course their constituents themselves were bitterly divided.

The handiest formula for understanding the responses of the various colonies to the crisis of the day is: those colonies with the more heterogeneous populations and the growing economies were more likely to abjure independence; contrariwise, those colonies with relatively homogeneous populations and declining economies were more inclined to support radical measures.

Basically, that formula differentiates the middle colonies on the one hand from the New England colonies and Virginia on the other. Heterogeneity in ethnic background and religion marked the middle colonies: Pennsylvania, for example, was one-third Scotch-Irish, one-third German, and one-third English and other. New York was also ethnically and religiously divided, while the Delanceys and the Livingstons waged their eternal struggle for control of the very unrepresentative legislature. New Jersey was split between the west, dependent on Philadelphia, and the east, dependent on New York. Her people, also, were constantly involved in interminable disputes over land grants.

Sectional and social divisions in Pennsylvania and New York brought those colonies to the brink of civil war. The Carolinas pitched over the brink into bloody strife. They and Maryland, bitterly divided between east and west, were also similar to the middle colonies in their ethnic makeup. They were similar, too, in the general upsurge of their economies in the 1770s. The leaders of these colonies, particularly those representing the older elites tenacious of power, saw that they had prospered within the Empire, and believed that the imperial connection was needed to keep the lid on the explosive social mix over which they presided.

New England possessed the most homogeneous population of colonial America. Virginia, though ethnically more diversified, experienced at mid-century little of the divisiveness plaguing her neighbors. Her meandering rivers cut deep into the west, effecting an intra-colonial communication and unity sadly lacking in the Carolinas and Pennsylvania. New England and Virginia boasted the oldest representative assemblies in English America. However, these colonies experienced a steady economic decline through the Sixties and Seventies. Philadelphia and New York stole away Boston's one-time commercial preeminence. Two-thirds of Virginia's planters were in debt to their business representatives in London and Glasgow.

Social and economic conditions, however, were not the sole determinants of the several colonies' attitudes toward the Empire. Personal and political factors played a role as well. Massachusetts, for example, had a long tradition of independence from England's imperial sway. And when England chose to exercise her powers, it was frequently to the detriment of individuals such as Sam Adams' father, who lost his fortune when Parliament in 1742 nullified a land-bank scheme in which he was involved. Young Sam remained less than charmed with the imperial connection ever after. As a journalist and the political boss of Boston, he became the rallying point for Americans' assertion of their rights. His cousin John, a country lawyer deeply imbued with the Puritan ethic of his forefathers, as early as 1765 could refer to the Crown officials in his colony as "missionaries of ignorance, foppery, servility, and slavery."

THE Adamses were not alone in their personal disenchantment with British governance. James Otis' father, a powerful leader in southern Massachusetts, was denied the Chief Justiceship of the Massachusetts Supreme Court. The office fell instead to his political rival Thomas Hutchinson, who already monopolized many of the colony's public offices. Young James, like young Sam, would become an early and vocal champion of American rights.

Down in Virginia, the conservative old guard was thoroughly discredited as early as 1762, when the colonial treasurer and Speaker of the House, John Robinson, was caught with his hand in the public till. The young bloods Arthur and Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, and Thomas Jefferson thereby enhanced their position in the legislature. But Virginians of all factions were hot for liberty. The aristocratic Richard Henry Lee, not unlike John Adams in Massachusetts, could speak as early as 1765 of England's "infernal crew of hireling Miscreants." During the Stamp

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Act crisis, he gave vent to the hope that "America can find Arms as well as Arts to remove the Demon Slavery far from its borders." And he was not speaking of black slavery.

Pennsylvania's politics, on the other hand, were dominated by the pro-British Joseph Galloway. Galloway's *idée fixe* was that the Crown should take the colony's government out of the hands of its proprietary rulers, the heirs of William Penn. From his powerful position as Speaker, Galloway guided the Pennsylvania Assembly in its struggle with the proprietary family. Pennsylvania sought royalization at the very time that Massachusetts and Virginia, for example, were kicking over the traces. Galloway's erstwhile political mentor, Benjamin Franklin, in England for some 15 years as agent for several colonial assemblies, broke with his old pupil on this issue. He returned home (he was on the high seas on April 19, 1775) to the Second Continental Congress a flaming patriot—an exception among the general leadership of the middle colonies.

As Galloway, discredited by the tide of events, sullenly withdrew from Pennsylvania politics (and ultimately from America to head the loyalists in England), his mantle descended upon John Dickinson. Dickinson—a wealthy, conservative lawyer/landholder of Pennsylvania and Delaware—emerged as the leader of the congressional reconciliationists. He had earlier attained international fame at the time of the Townshend Acts. In 1767, Parliament had enacted into law Charles Townshend's plan to impose certain colonial import duties for the purpose of raising a revenue with which to break the colonial legislatures' power of the purse. Dickinson then wrote the famous *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*, brilliantly setting forth the colonies' case against parliamentary taxation. But now after Lexington, Dickinson—a true son of the middle colonies—pulled back. He opposed separation and placed his faith in petitioning the Crown; he was the author of the useless Olive Branch Petition, which the King did not so much as look at.

With all of these differing interests to reconcile, it is clear that independence depended upon two factors. First, there would have to emerge in Congress a majority independence faction. Second, a popular pro-independence movement outside Congress would have to bring pressure upon recalcitrant assemblies to instruct their congressional delegates for independence. The story of the 14 months from Lexington to the Declaration is the story of these parallel movements.

In the light of later American history, members of the radical faction in Congress made some odd couples. John Adams, who called for bold measures, found Franklin a pillar of strength; his was, wrote Adams, "a disposition entirely American. . . . He is a great and good man." Adams also thought highly of Thomas Jefferson, whom he inveigled into writing the Great Declaration. Massachusetts and Virginia, in fact, got along splendidly in this period of our history. Adams and Lee agreed that the Dickinson plan to petition gave, as Adams put it, "a silly cast to our whole proceedings." To Adams, Dickinson was a "piddling genius." Arms, not petitions, were the proper remedy.

South Carolina's congressional delegation proved a major stumbling block, dominated as it was by the aristocratic brothers John and Edward Rutledge. These men represented the colony's wealthy oligarchy, entrenched in the South Carolina Commons House of Assembly, who feared the democratic threat to their power inherent in the challenge to British authority. Back-country Carolinians, in fact, so hated the eastern ruling class that Toryism ultimately found many a willing ally among the oligarchy. Carolinian turbulence caused the colony's established leaders to hang back from the precipice of independence.

It has been suggested that John Adams envisioned, from the beginning of the Second Continental Congress, a program leading to independence. If he did, this "Atlas of Independence," as he was called, must have despaired frequently because of congressional timidity. "The Congress," he wrote, "is not so much alarmed as it ought to be. We shall have nothing but deceit, hostility, fire, famine, pestilence, and sword from England. Yet the colonies like all bodies of men must and will have their way and their humor and even their whims. You will see a strange oscillation between love and hatred, between war and peace. . . ." Adams' despair is understandable in the light of middle colony resolutions that, as late as January 1776, were claiming that "the reports of Independency are groundless, that the delegates of this colony are to bend their utmost endeavors for obtaining a redress of grievances and for restoring the union between the colonies and Great Britain, and that the said delegates must utterly reject propositions otherwise."

It is conceivable that had Britain withdrawn her troops from American soil and retracted the claim of parliamen-

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tary supremacy before the spring of 1776, the American Revolution would have been consummated *sans* independence. But the Crown doggedly pursued its objective of bringing the colonies to heel by the force of British arms. Franklin foresaw the inevitable result; he wrote in April 1776,

> Nothing seems wanting now [for independence] but the "general consent." The novelty of the thing deters some, the doubts of success others, the vain hope of reconciliation, many. But our enemies take continually every proper measure to remove these obstacles, and their endeavors are attended with success, since every day furnishes us with new causes of increasing enmity, and new reasons for wishing an eternal separation, so that there is a rapid increase of the formerly small party, who were for an independent government.

British actions, as Franklin pointed out, placed the conservatives in an untenable position. For example, the British decision to invade wavering New York from Canada ultimately helped place New York in the independence column—though not until July 19, 1776. Even John Dickinson favored an American pre-emptive strike at Canada, obviously compromising his reconciliationist stand.

If the British added to the conservative dilemma, so too did popular pressure, which everywhere brought influence to bear upon the colonial assemblies and through them the Congress. Tom Paine's *Common Sense*, published in January 1776, provided the torrential logic that swept all before it, or—to shift metaphors—in the words of Virginia's Edmund Randolph, *Common Sense* "put the torch to combustibles." In three months' time the pamphlet sold 12,000 copies, comparable to a sale of ten million today. Here was the call to independence for which the radical leaders had been waiting.

★ ***John Adams was jubilant. "Thirteen clocks," he wrote, "were made to strike together—a perfection of mechanism which no artist had ever before effected"***

The British pressed the war upon the Americans, attacking the Carolinas in the expectation of loyalist support. The American people were increasingly radicalized by such actions and by the efforts of Paine and others, but the congressional delegates—particularly from Pennsylvania, Delaware, South Carolina, Maryland, New York, and New Jersey—still clung to their increasingly chimerical hopes for reconciliation. In April, John Adams sardonically opined that "independency is an hobgoblin, of so frightful a mien, that it would throw a delicate person into fits to look it in the face." But slowly, Congress was forced to take actions tantamount to embracing the hobgoblin. The invasion of Canada was one such action. In March, Congress reluctantly authorized the fitting out of armed vessels in a proto-American navy; in April, Congress threw open America's ports to the trade of the world, with the exception, of course, of England. In April and May, several colonial assemblies or conventions instructed their delegates for independence.

In May, Richard Henry Lee managed a dramatic resolution through Congress: that the several colonies "where no government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs have been hitherto established" should adopt such government as shall "best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular and America in general." Moderates agreed to the Lee resolution because of the rising threat of anarchy in several colonies. They were dismayed, however, when on May 15 John Adams succeeded in affixing to the resolution a dramatic preamble to the effect that "every kind of authority under the Crown should be totally suppressed." The preamble was directed at the people of Pennsylvania, who took the hint, overthrew the Assembly, and constituted a new pro-independence revolutionary government, the most democratic of any of the new governments shortly to be established. Delaware and New Jersey followed Pennsylvania's lead. "Every post and every day," crowed Adams, "rolls in upon us independence like a torrent."

In June, Lee offered his resolution for independence. On July 1, John Dickinson made his last stand in a great speech opposing the resolution, a speech the doughty Adams replied to in perhaps *his* greatest moment. The vote was expected to be so close that post riders were sent that evening eighty miles into Delaware to alert the pro-independence Delaware delegate Caesar Rodney to the crucial vote the next day. At the last moment, in a ride more significant than that of Paul Revere, Rodney arrived to place Delaware in the independence column. Pennsylvania voted yes by 3 to 2 only because James Wilson changed his previous reconciliationist stand at the last minute and Dickinson and Robert Morris boycotted the meeting. South Carolina and Maryland, pressed by popular feeling at home, agreed to go with the majority. By this tactic, the established leadership in those colonies avoided the Pennsylvania debacle, wherein the establishment went down with the empire. New York abstained, but nonetheless independence was voted on July 2, and the great Declaration was accepted two days later.

John Adams was jubilant. "Thirteen clocks," he wrote, "were made to strike together—a perfection of mechanism which no artist," he modestly added, "had ever before effected." To Abigail he wrote, "The second day of July, 1776, will be the most memorable epocha in the history of America. . . . It will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival. . . . It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations from one end of this continent to the other from this time forward forever more." He was aware, he informed his wife, of the coming toil and trouble, but "through all the gloom," he wrote, "I can see the rays of ravishing light and glory."

With these uncharacteristically impassioned words, erring only on the date of the annual jubilee—Americans inexplicably memorialize the Declaration rather than the resolution of independence—John Adams proclaimed the crucial point at which the American Revolution became the War for Independence. The vicissitudes of war gave direction to what had been for 14 months after Lexington the inchoate struggle of 13 colonies for self-determination. The vicissitudes of peace would set the conditions for the final act of revolution: the creation of a new instrument of government that would unite the Americans as one people. □

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PART III

The Birth of the Nation

O! Ye unborn Inhabitants of America! Should this Page escape its destin'd Conflagration at the Year's End, and these Alphabetical Letters remain legible—when your Eyes behold the Sun after he has rolled the Seasons round for two or three Centuries more, you will know that in Anno Domini 1758, *we dream'd of your Times.*

So THE BOSTON philomath Nathaniel Ames wrote in his almanac almost two decades before Congress declared the 13 colonies' independence from Britain. It had been a century and a half since Captain Newport established at Jamestown the first permanent English foothold; almost as long since Ames's New England forebears established their "city uppon a hill" along Massachusetts Bay. Now, in the mid-eighteenth century, England's American colonists began to share a sense of special destiny that would later be woven into the fabric of a new American nationalism.

Without this awakening consciousness of the uniqueness of the American experience, the colonists could never have transcended their traditional loyalty to the "English nation." Their commitment crossed colonial boundaries to embrace the American continent. It is this cultural phenomenon—the emergence after 1750 of a new American self-consciousness—that underlay the American Revolution begun in 1763 and consummated in 1789.

We are commemorating on July 4 of this year the Bicentennial of one event in that tremendous transformation. Independence, however, did not then and there create the American nation. Independence alone, without the existence of a continental political structure, could not have fulfilled the vision Ames articulated 18 years before. It was one thing for a South Carolinian, for example, to feel a sense of common destiny with a citizen of New York. It was quite another for the Carolinian and the New Yorker to come together under a single national government. Separation from Great Britain was one step in the morphology of the Revolution. But the "real revolution," to use John Adams' term, consisted in the creation of the United States of America out of 13 highly individualistic English colonies.

The juridical origins of our federal democratic republic go back to the 1760s, when the 13 separate colonial representative assemblies were each making insistent demands for legislative autonomy. Such demands by 13 "little parliaments" in the American woods conflicted with the British Parliament's declaration of imperial legislative supremacy. We see a groping toward federalism in the colonists' tentative thought that Parliament might legislate on external affairs (trade, for example), while the assemblies would legislate autonomously on internal affairs (taxation, for example).

That formula—clearly enunciated in 1767 by John Dickinson—failed. It represented a half-way house that satisfied neither Parliament nor, ultimately, the colonists themselves. The former clung to its declaration of legislative supremacy "in all cases whatsoever"; the latter, 13 distinct political societies with a growing sense of a common American identity, had gone too far along the road to self-government. The colonies and England came to blows when the assemblies at last denied that Parliament had any right to legislate for them at all.

For seven years, in fact, from the meeting of the First Continental Congress in 1774 to the ratification of the Articles of Confederation in 1781, the colonies-become-states operated as independent commonwealths cooperating with each other in pursuit of a common cause. They were a sort of United Nations without benefit of charter.

Following Lexington, several members of the Continental

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Congress pointed to the lack of a written legal agreement for joint action by the states. Even before the Great Declaration, Benjamin Franklin had startled the members of Congress with his suggestion for articles of confederation. A resolution for such an instrument was eventually coupled with the resolution for independence. In consequence, articles of confederation, fittingly written by the same John Dickinson who had suggested federalism within the Empire, were brought forward the week following the act of separation.

★ ***Even with the ratification of our first constitution, the particularistic Spirit of '76 remained in the ascendant. The Articles were ratified by the states, not by the people***

It took almost a year and a half, however, for Congress to agree on a draft to be transmitted to the states. Understandably, Congress was busy with other matters at that time, including keeping out of reach of the ever-threatening Redcoats. (Indeed, when Congress was not fleeing from the British army, it was avoiding another invasion: the hundreds of European volunteers pursuing commissions and glory in the American service.) Not only did Congress have ultimate responsibility for the military conduct of the war, including raising and paying armies, it had also to obtain foreign aid, attempt to uphold the public credit, and—above all—maintain American independence in the face of the most discouraging odds. Historians have unfairly maligned this Congress, which did, after all, see the states through to victory in a very doubtful contest.

Congress finally submitted the Articles of Confederation to the states on November 15, 1777. Ratification was to be by unanimous consent, a consent not forthcoming for another four years.

The chief stumbling block to agreement was the enormous western landholdings of some of the states. Virginia claimed the grandest domain of all, a domain based on the sea-to-sea charter originally granted her by a king whose successors she now disdained. The so-called landless states, led by Maryland, refused to ratify the Articles until the others ceded their western claims to the general government. New York and Connecticut (excepting the three-million-acre Western Reserve) soon complied. The English southern campaign that began with the occupation of Charleston in 1780 helped convince Virginia to cooperate. (In January 1781, the month of Virginia's acquiescence, traitor Benedict Arnold led a Redcoat raid on Richmond, the new capital.) Virginia's cession, which included a federal guarantee of the previous land claims of her citizens, led to Maryland's ratification of the Articles of Confederation on March 1, 1781. At last, only eight months before Yorktown, the United States had a constitution.

There were, fittingly, 13 Articles of Confederation. The fifth of these authorized what Congress had been doing all along: each state would be represented by no fewer than two nor more than seven delegates, their salaries to be paid by the states; voting in Congress would be by state, not by head. The ninth, which is the longest article, laid out Congress' powers, which were few: to declare war, to adjudicate interstate disputes, to coin money; each power required the agreement of nine states. Amendments to the Articles required unanimous consent. In a burst of optimism, Article Eleven offered a place in the American Confederacy to Canada, an offer which the ungrateful Canadians declined. (Article Eleven was more modest than Franklin's earlier, rejected federal plan, which included the British West Indies and Ireland as well as Canada.)

But even with the long-postponed ratification of our first constitution, the particularistic Spirit of '76 remained in the ascendant. The Articles of Confederation were ratified by the states, not by the people. "The said states," according to Article Three, "hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other." The Revolution had yet to be consummated. A governmental structure capable of giving political expression to American national feeling had yet to be created.

Every student of history remembers being taught somewhere, sometime, of the "weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation." And from a nationalist point of view, they were weak. The Congress under the Articles could neither tax nor regulate trade. The states, as well as the Congress, could coin money (an important attribute of sovereignty). The general government's slight authority was over states, not individuals. There was no executive branch, no federal judiciary. The states remained supreme.

A depression in the mid-1780s exacerbated the financial chaos: agrarianized state legislatures issued legal tender bills of credit and legislated postponement of private debts. Rhode Island (conservatives labeled her "Rogue Island") presented a picture of eager debtors waving inflated Rhode Island dollars as they chased o'er the landscape frantic creditors who hurled themselves across state lines or into Narragansett Bay to avoid receiving payment in worthless currency. With no central regulatory authority, states vied with one another in a kind of commercial warfare; New Jersey, for example, placed a prohibitive tax on the Sandy Hook lighthouse in retaliation for New York's tariff, which discriminated against both New Jersey's and Connecticut's commerce. True, by 1787, most states had come to reciprocity agreements with one another. But who could say when and where commercial warfare would break out anew among the potentially proliferating states of the confederation?

IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS, the Congress unsuccessfully attempted to cope with Spain's monopolization of the lower Mississippi. Negotiations only succeeded in stirring up regional animosities when northern representatives seemed ready to sacrifice the Mississippi for commercial relations with the Spanish West Indies. Here lies the origin of the two-thirds rule for ratification of treaties, intended to prevent one region from sacrificing the interests of another.

The United States were in conflict with Britain over her retention of military forts on American soil along the Great Lakes, and over compensation to loyalists, pre-war debts, the West Indian trade, and commercial relations in general. Proud John Adams' ministry to the Court of St. James's provided constant humiliation. Where, wondered the haughty Britons, were the other 12 ministers? Queen of the seas, Britain seemed to countenance the pirating activities of the North African corsairs. These preyed upon American merchantmen who either paid tribute or showed

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forged British passes. (Wise Ben Franklin quipped that if the corsairs did not exist, Britain would invent them.)

An emphasis upon the domestic and foreign difficulties of the nation under the Articles should not blind us to the solid achievements of the period. Slavery, for example, was abolished north of the Mason-Dixon line. The precedent-shattering Northwest Ordinance set a liberal pattern for western expansion. Church and state were separated in Virginia. Industry and commerce discovered new opportunities outside the British Empire, including an astonishing trade with the Far East beginning in 1784. (One staple of this trade was the New England root ginseng, which optimistic Chinese believed would restore virility to the aged.) Such commercial initiative led to Captain Robert Gray's establishment of the American claim to the watershed of the Columbia River.

It was in the 1780s, too, that Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur set down on paper the essential configuration of a new American ideology. In *Letters from an American Farmer*, first published in 1782, the transplanted Frenchman described a system of values that would long remain characteristic of American nationalism. "What, then," asked Crèvecoeur in a famous passage, "is the American, this new man?"

> He is neither an European nor the descendant of an European; hence that strange mixture of blood, which you will find in no other country. . . . He is an American, who, leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new modes of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. . . . Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labors and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world. . . . The American ought therefore to love this country much better than that wherein either he or his forefathers were born. Here the rewards of his industry follow with equal steps the progress of his labor; his labor is founded on the basis of nature, self-interest; can it want a stronger allurement? . . . The American is a new man, who acts upon new principles; he must therefore entertain new ideas and form new opinions. From involuntary idleness, servile dependence, penury, and useless labor, he has passed to toils of a very different nature, rewarded by ample subsistence. This is an American.

Here in striking combination are the themes of the melting pot, the mission of America, work justly rewarded, patriotism, equality, and individualism. Crèvecoeur was not blind to his adopted country's faults. He particularly condemned slavery and the whites' treatment of the native Americans. But his *Letters*, like Nathaniel Ames's apostrophe to generations unborn, is eloquent testimony to the emergence of an American ethos.

Despite solid achievements, and notwithstanding Crèvecoeur's hymn of praise, the Confederacy's problems both at home and abroad were real enough. The movement for the creation of a truly national government began, in fact, before the ink was dry on the 13 Articles. Sparked mainly by public creditors and abetted by discontented army officers, the movement was weakened by the coming of peace and the local jealousies of the states. Rogue Island alone, for example, prevented the passage of a constitutional amendment by which the Congress could have enacted a uniform impost throughout the nation. Lack of funds, therefore, remained a crucial congressional weakness.

★ ***"What, then," asked Crèvecoeur, "is the American, this new man? He is neither an European nor the descendant of an European . . . [He] acts upon new principles . . ."***

Mt. Vernon was the appropriate setting for a renewed effort at strengthening the central government. In the presence of the living symbol of the nation, commissioners from Maryland and Virginia met to consider interstate commercial problems. Among these was the disposition of Chesapeake Bay's oysters; so it was that the Constitution would rise, like Venus, from a sea shell.

An amicable settlement of various problems (including the disposition of the oysters) encouraged the commis-

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★ *The Constitution left to interpretation the precise juridical balance between state and nation. South and North warred over its meaning, but veneration of the charter survived*

sioners to make more ambitious efforts to strengthen the central government. During September 1786, delegates from five states met at Annapolis. Convinced that a radical revision of the Articles of Confederation was essential, these delegates, Madison and Hamilton in the vanguard, issued a call to the Congress for a convention of the states. Its purpose would be "to devise such further provisions as shall appear to them necessary to render the Constitution of the federal government adequate to the exigencies of the union."

Persuasive as this call may have been, Captain Daniel Shays in western Massachusetts unwittingly presented reluctant congressmen with an even more compelling motive for shoring up the government. The postwar depression wreaked economic havoc among New England's yeoman farmers. The rebellion that Shays led in the winter of 1786-87 focused first upon the courts, which Shays and his men forced to disband. Dispossession had become endemic in the debt-ridden western counties. Closing the courts frustrated foreclosure proceedings; moreover, for Shays's enraged agrarians, the courts were a tangible symbol of the eastern moneyed interests and of a government unresponsive to their needs.

Shays's attack upon property rights was frightening enough, but when he and his men went after the federal arsenal at Springfield, it seemed that the social order was on the verge of collapse. Massachusetts, after all, possessed the first state constitution to be ratified by the people. Shays appeared to be testing the survival of republican government based upon consent. Great was the establishment's relief when General Lincoln easily dispersed the rebels. Relief became dismay, however, when the frightened Massachusetts legislature enacted some of the rebels' demands into law.

"I feel, my dear General Knox," wrote Washington to his old companion in arms, "infinitely more than I can express to you, for the disorders which have arisen in these States. Good God! Who, besides a Tory, could have foreseen, or a Briton predicted them?" Sharing Washington's sentiments, a Shays-traumatized Congress, on February 21, 1787, asked the states to send delegates to a convention to revise the Articles of Confederation.

This is no place to detail the historiographical battle over the motives of the 55 men who met in Philadelphia during the simmering summer of 1787. More than half a century ago, Charles Beard called them conspirators against a prevailing order that had failed adequately to represent their property interests: the Philadelphia Convention was our Revolution's Thermidor.

It seems clear today, however, particularly in the light of exhaustive research into the ideology of the Founders, that the Philadelphians meant not to subvert the Revolution, but to secure it. They believed, of course, in the sanctity of property; in the eighteenth century, property rights were thought to provide the essential foundation of human rights. The Founders did not see, as some see today, any incompatibility between the rights of property and the rights of man. The Constitution, Beard to the contrary, is a political, not an economic document. The Founders' art consisted in the creation of a national institutional framework consonant with the Revolutionary commitment to local self-government. They turned a "league of friendship" into a "more perfect union," to be ratified not by the states, but by the people.

The late Catherine Drinker Bowen denominated the Founders' success in forming a truly national government the "Miracle at Philadelphia." A century earlier, the historian von Holst had found it necessary to utilize a similarly heavenly metaphor in describing the work of the Constitutional Convention. The Founders, he commented, had ventured to outdo the mystery of the Trinity by endeavoring to make 13 one, while leaving the one 13. John Marshall, in 1821, put the matter in a decidedly more sober, not to say more earthly manner. "America," he said, "has chosen to be, in many respects, and to many purposes, a nation."

The Constitution at last created a national government that gave adequate effect to the Americans' increasing self-consciousness as a united people. It left to interpretation the precise juridical balance between state and nation, a problem which would remain at the base of American politics through the Civil War, and which, in fact, is with us still. Yet, the Constitution itself remains above the battle. South and North warred over its meaning, but the universal veneration of the national charter survived even that holocaust.

★ *Washington remarked upon the "providential agency" that seemed to accompany every step by which the United States "have advanced to the character of an independent nation"*

The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution define the American nation. As we enter the third century of independence, however, it is well to recall that we are in the fourth century of American history. It is to the colonial period that we must look for the roots of republicanism and federalism. While the colonies were becoming mature societies—and their representative assemblies, fully developed organs of self-government—England recognized them only as overseas corporations dependent upon her sovereign authority. Denied self-government within the Empire, the colonies, many of them reluctantly, declared their independence—a declaration they made good during eight years of war. The final act of the drama consisted in their coalescing into a nation.

It seems appropriate to give George Washington the last word. As he assumed the executive office for which the new Constitution provided, he remarked upon the "providential agency" that seemed to accompany every step by which the United States "have advanced to the character of an independent nation," including "the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government." In this First Inaugural Address by the first President of the United States, Washington quietly announced the completion of the American Revolution and the beginning of the national period of American history. □

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AND ALL THAT

Thermopylae Revisited

KEVIN FORSTER

Recent archaeological digs conducted in the ruins of the ancient cities of Macedonia have uncovered several clay tablets claimed to be the oldest newspapers ever discovered.

These tablets, apparently called the Macedonian Times, *date from approximately 480 B.C., the year in which the Persian Empire under King Xerxes carried out an unsuccessful invasion of Greece.*

SENATOR SEEKS AID CUTOFF FOR GREEK FORCES

MACEDON—Senator Hubristenes, speaking at a meeting of Macedonians for Democratic Action, today advocated a cutoff of all Macedonian aid in the war now raging in the Hellenic city-states.

"We should immediately withdraw from making aid available to the Greek factions, regardless of whether or not the Persians reciprocate," the Senator declared to a receptive audience.

"Our involvement in the Greek war only encourages deeper Persian involvement, increases the risk of confrontation with Persia, and lessens the chance for a negotiated peace."

While the Senator condemned the intervention in Greek affairs by Persia and its Egyptian ally, he fervently argued that Macedonia should refuse to assist the embattled Greek states. He remarked that while the Persian-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Greece (MPLG) already controls a large portion of Thrace and Thessaly, neither King Xerxes nor any other Persian spokesman has as yet admitted to the actual presence of Persian soldiers in Greece.

"We cannot allow a small disturbance in Greece to deter us from our foreign policy objectives," Hubristenes continued. "Greece holds relatively little strategic importance, and should not stand in the way of our continued efforts at detente with the Persian Empire. The future lies in continuing our dialogue with Persia. We have already signed an agreement limiting the length of spears; our next step is to negotiate a ceiling on spear-throwers and a limit on the size of arrowheads."

As for calls by the Greek leader Themistocles for additional Macedonian aid, Hubristenes commented, "Themistocles is a fine fellow, a nice guy, but you know all about him—I think he's driven his chariot once too often without a helmet on."

PERSIA CLARIFIES ITS ROLE IN GREECE

SUSA—Characterizing Persian intervention in the Greek peninsula as "a necessary and natural outgrowth of our policy of national liberation," Persian Royal Press Satrap Darius sought today to clear up misconceptions concerning the Persian role in Greece.

Speaking before a Fertile Crescent Press Club luncheon, Darius reiterated his denial that any Persian troops are actually stationed in Greece. "While it is true that our Egyptian comrades have provided some troops, and we have provided a limited amount of arms and technical assistance to the MPLG, at this point in time no Persian troops are actively involved in the fighting. As our glorious monarch Xerxes has consistently stated, at this time he has no plans whatsoever to commit Persian ground forces in an Hellenic land war."

In the question-and-answer period which followed his remarks, Darius was taken to task by several reporters.

"When Xerxes states he has no plans to commit Persian forces 'at this time,' is he ruling out intervention at any future date?" a reporter queried.

"The Great King's operative words are 'at this time,'" Darius amplified; "the King of Kings wishes to make it perfectly clear he has no plans to directly intervene with Persian troops."

This answer failed to mollify one member of the press corps, who raised a question concerning alleged Persian naval maneuvers in the Mediterranean. "Would you please comment on the report by secret, high-level sources who maintain that a Persian force consisting of 700 triremes and 120,000 soldiers is lying just outside territorial waters on the eastern coast of Greece?"

Darius visibly reddened at this sally, and after accusing the reporter of endangering detente mumbled something about a Mediterranean pleasure cruise.

"Do you mean to stand there and tell us you believe that fleet is a 120,000-man pleasure excursion?" the reporter shouted at the flustered Satrap.

"It's a very large cruise. A package deal. Seize that man!" Darius suddenly concluded, and four soldiers apprehended the offending journalist.

After the public flogging, Darius composed himself and spoke at length off the record concerning Persian objectives in the Hellenic peninsula.

PERSIANS ADMIT DIRECT INTERVENTION IN GREECE

PERSEPOLIS—In a carefully worded article in today's *Persepolis Truth*, the Empire officially admitted the presence of Persian troops on Greek soil.

"The Divine Light, the King of Kings, our monarch Xerxes, has decreed the liberation of Greece from the decadent Western forces of Athens and her Spartan lackeys," the article declared. "Along with the assistance of our Egyptian comrades, and the aid of our armed forces, the MPLG shall soon

(Continues on page 801)

Mr. Forster recently graduated from the University of Minnesota, and has just written his first novel.

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What Argentinians Are Thinking

Letter from Buenos Aires

NENA OSSA

MOST OF THE eight million inhabitants of Buenos Aires thoroughly agree on two things: a) the last Peronist administrations were anarchical, corrupt, and inefficient, and b) the present regime is a welcome change but probably too soft to bring the economy out of its tailspin and harness the unruly labor unions.

"A wild, out-of-control Peronism destroyed our country," says a writer and theatrical producer. "I cannot forget the nightmare," says an employee of the Quilmes brewery; "terrorists would appear and ask for an executive by name. If he was out they would call the next-in-rank and shoot him then and there. We never knew who would be next . . ."

A Peronista union leader who still refers to Isabel Perón's regime as the "popular government" doesn't believe that General Videla's junta, which came to power on March 24, can last as presently constituted. "It is an honest government," says an economics expert now with the Ministry of Economy. But he adds that honesty is not enough: "The military will have to make up their minds to be more authoritative or less so. President Videla must face the economic dilemma. It is fine to try to free prices gradually. But that demands a responsible citizenry. And what we've got now is a price stampede. A stronger policy is a must. Credit must be tightened up, and tax sanctions used against the unscrupulous. We have a monthly inflation of over 50 per cent. A soft, complaisant government can't stop it. It's the middle class that is suffering most. A night out for two today would cost a sixth of a month's salary. The government seems incapable of stemming the tide."

"A hardline approach is the only way," says an experienced businessman. "Exports and imports are at a standstill because of the low prices allowed by the Peronist government. The equivalent of $2.5-billion worth of agricultural products was smuggled out of the country in 1975. Trucks would drive directly to our farms from Brazil to pick up soybeans—at a black-market price, of course."

Argentinians are taking bets on Videla's durability. "Six months," says an international banker. "Not more than three," guesses a union leader. "He's here to stay," says the editor of a leading daily, who, like almost everybody else, was informed of the date, hour, and details of the coup ten days before it took place. For a visitor who has been away for two years, it comes as a surprise that a people traditionally unconcerned with politics talks about little else today.

Everyone agrees that the continued terrorism stands in the way of foreign investments. The terrorism is as out of hand today as it was during Isabel Perón's day in power. A leading journalist tries to explain the general indifference to the terror by a deep-rooted Argentinian anti-militarism. "When a soldier or a policeman is shot," he told us, "at least 20 per cent of the people are pleased, another 20 per cent are shocked. The rest couldn't care less. The cost of that indifference was three assassinations a day under the Peróns. The assassination rate is at least that high now, but my guess is that it will go down. The military is quietly engaged in a war of attrition. The extremists are being killed or jailed. Thousands are believed to have been imprisoned."

Terrorism as Usual

"Nobody today blames the military if they are harsh," another journalist told me. "Terrorist audacity and cruelty have been unlimited. Kidnapped soldiers and policemen have been kept in holes for months, hands and feet tied with wire. Unable to move and without toilets, they have literally rotted alive. And then there's the incinerator for the cremation of human beings that allegedly has been found on the premises of the Metallurgical Union; or the people's jail allegedly found at the Meat Union's headquarters."

"Terrorism knows no limits," says the first journalist, who gives examples. "Say we want to write an article on a certain firm. We interview executives, managers, employees. We go back to write our story. The telephone rings. A matter-of-fact voice says, 'Are you the reporter who came in this morning?' Yes. 'Well, don't mention So-and-So. He was shot an hour ago.' Such calls are almost routine; assassinations are accepted as normal. In my opinion it is wrong to suppress these stories. To keep silence about such terrorism is to fight what is really a new and ugly kind of warfare by the traditional rules. It doesn't work."

Smashing a Dream

So much for the economy and terrorism. What about Argentina's image abroad? The coup, after all, toppled a democratic government, elected in 1973 by a vast majority of the people. Will world opinion isolate Argentina as it has isolated Chile? Fortunately for Argentina, the situations of the two countries cannot really be equated. Juan and Isabel Perón were themselves unimportant. In Argentina it was the labor unions that ruled: two and a half million workers, the most powerful unions in Latin America. In Chile the military overthrew a Marxist-Leninist administration, and that can never be forgiven. In addition, a Swedish Socialist, say, could identify with a Chilean Socialist, however different their tactics or aims. An Italian Christian Democrat could identify with a Chilean Christian Democrat; a German Communist with a Chilean Communist. But very few identify with, or care about, Perón's populism. Argentina voted for a man, not an ideology. Argentina has no parties with European equivalents. That has made the military coup more palatable internationally. "The military here," said a long-time foreign resident, "could shoot half the population and no one would care."

Argentina's tragedy, a foreign diplomat told me as I was leaving, is that "Perón and his gangster followers have succeeded in smashing a dream." □

Mrs. Ossa is a Chilean journalist and a regular contributor to NATIONAL REVIEW.

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Salute

Land of the Free

WILLIAM F. RICKENBACKER

On June 15, 1944, the first wave of United States Marines hit the beach on Saipan, in the Marianas, opening America's assault on the inner defense perimeter of the Japanese positions in the Pacific.

> landed approx 1600 [runs the combat diary of Warren Boege, then a lieutenant, a pilot, doing temporary ground duty] in LTV . . . LTV on port turned over on reef . . . four men seen to emerge—21 including driver were aboard

Saipan is 15 miles long. It is defended by 32,000 troops and a normal component of 1,500 aircraft. Some aircraft have been deployed to New Guinea, but the Japanese still hope to muster 500 for the defense. The troops and artillery are "dug in"—in pillboxes, caves, concealed positions in cliffs. The United States Marines manage to land 8,000 men in the first twenty minutes.

> approx ten minutes after landing with portable radio gear—enemy artillery fire landed on beach to our left—team disorganized—Capt. Pratt (in charge) disappeared with S./Sgt. Orach—I reorganized gear & personnel and dug in about 100 yds from the beach—artillery & mortar fire fell continuously in our area

The Americans have massed three Marine divisions with an Army division in reserve, supported by 12 escort carriers, five battleships, 11 cruisers, backed up by Admiral Spruance and his Fifth Fleet, with seven battleships, 21 cruisers, 69 destroyers, plus Admiral Mitscher's 15 carriers and 956 aircraft.

> Capt. Norton a few feet to my right was killed—others badly wounded and screaming "corpsman!"—I reorganized again after giving orders to abandon heavy radio gear in spot marked by palms

By nightfall the Marines have landed 20,000 men but have been unable to make any headway against the terrific resistance of the Japanese.

> had men dig in wedge formation—everyone present except Capt. Pratt—no info as to his whereabouts—found one man shell-shocked & lost & took him under charge with my team . . . sniper fire throughout day & night—about 1730 when enemy fire had apparently lifted asked for volunteers to retrieve radio gear—two men and myself went forward and found gear intact—carried as much as possible back to foxholes. . . . I was surprised to see how close to us were the men who were hit—a few feet either side of us . . . book strength of battalion = 850, only 180 reached 0-1 line—casualties were staggering—officer cas. almost 100%—

They are pinned to the beach for almost four days but then they begin to make some progress.

> went forward with two men to investigate abandoned tank (alligator) about 150 yds open ground to our front (CP) —one crewman lying alongside—burned and bloated but recognizable—two men inside incl. driver burned to crisp (unrecognizable)—snipers in wooded area to our NE (about 200 yds) opened fire on us—we all hit the deck—I lay beside the dead crewman (the stink was nauseating)—finally ran, dropped, and zigzagged back to crest . . . moved our CP this date . . . abandoned trucks, tanks, artillery pieces lie everywhere badly damaged and surrounded by dead personnel—Marine dead were countless . . . all my officer friends in the regiment—junior officers in the attack—were casualties except one—most of them were dead

The regiment, down to one-third strength, is put in reserve until it can be built up again by replacements. After returning to action, they receive a Japanese patrol of 600 men.

> our first indication of their presence was about 0400 when our security opened fire—they overran our outer security and stumbled into the 3rd batt. bivouac area—a 100 yds to the right of our foxhole (our own CP) . . . those that reached our hill were annihilated—we counted approx 520 dead up to the following day . . . if they had come up a 100 yds to the left of their front they would have come to *our* emplacement—killed every one of us—and would have successfully reached their objective . . . it was a sight to see the gaping holes in their chests and the open staring eyes—we suffered only 41 casualties in our CP area—Lt. Jim Moresby was killed—one of the last remaining officers of the 3rd battalion there were two dead Japs in his foxhole and his .45 was emptied

The American battle plan called for subduing Saipan in ten days. On the 17th day the battle is still raging. On the 24th day,

> had scorpion for bedfellow last night—it bit Capt. Pratt in back of head—Capt. Pratt educated in Harvard & Cambridge and a highly successful Washington lawyer—we have endured lizards, scorpions, land crabs, flies, mosquitos, ants, bats, heat, rain, mud, dirt, stink & Japs since landing—fully realize we are essentially men of peace—word has just come in that the 25th has reached Marpi Pt. the end of the island—although a large portion of the west beach area is still ungarrisoned—the hazardous job of mopping up will now be in effect . . . our flag is ready to unfurl

The Japanese lost 26,000 men defending Saipan; the Americans had 3,500 dead and 13,000 wounded or sick. Lieutenant Boege got two weeks of rest and then hit the beach in the first attack wave on the neighboring island of Tinian. After that he returned to flight duty, joined the assault on Iwo Jima, logged more combat hours than anyone else in the squadron, won the Distinguished Flying Cross . . .

Millions of Americans have served their country honorably even without getting their pictures in the papers. It must be strangely puzzling to them when they read that a President Ford, or a Senator Goldwater, is afraid of confronting the leftist dictator of tiny Panama over the question of American sovereignty in the Canal Zone. Such politicians argue that the American people will no longer fight for their rights.

If Americans have begun to lose faith in the government, it may be because the government long ago lost faith in the American people. To call us cowards is to invite us to become cowards. America cannot long remain the land of the free when its leaders have ceased to think of it as the home of the brave. □

William F. Rickenbacker is editor of the Rickenbacker Report *and author of* William Rickenbacker's Savings and Investment Guide, *just published by David McKay.*

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Pull Down a Monument for '76

In our parish, this Fourth of July, in the year of our Lord 1976, we are celebrating the Bicentennial by destroying our only historic monument. For neoterists there is a double joy in this: the doomed handsome old building is the Church of St. Michael.

That church, with its tall tower, soon would have known its own centennial. Now the highway on which it stands will be unrelieved dullness for many miles, and children will be denied any visible reminder of the past.

The old church has been supplanted by a structure in the noblest tradition of Kentucky Fried architecture. Already the roof of this new jerry-built church leaks so abominably that buckets have to be placed in the aisles. Old St. Michael's, with its massive timber frame, could have been restored charmingly for a fraction of the cost of this shoddy new pseudo-church.

But who loves the old church? Not the present pastor, nor his predecessor. Some of the more active parishioners proposed a series of alternative uses for the abandoned church building, but the pastor quashed all pleas. The last attempt to save old St. Michael's was a plan to move the building across the road and make it a cultural museum and center for the arts. But that would be divisive, the pastor thought: some of his flock might grow interested in culture —dangerous prospect! Father knows best: so say old ladies of both sexes.

Old St. Michael's Church was built by German farmers from the Mosel who settled in these Michigan cut-over lands; you can read about them and this striking, beloved church in one of the best American books published in recent years, Curtis Stadtfeld's *From the Land and Back* (Scribner's). Their descendants, and many others in the parish, begged that the church be spared. Recently it was put on Michigan's official register of historic and architecturally important buildings.

Nevertheless, the pastor, with the parish council under his thumb, is sending the old church down the memory hole. As for the diocesan authorities, to whom in theory the old building belongs—why, they couldn't care less. One excuse for sweeping away the old church has been the notion that "the new liturgy requires a new church building"—on which premise, the basilicas of Rome ought to be wrecked. The bishop and most of the "clergy club" talk vaguely about "peace and justice" by way of commemorating the Bicentennial. These grandiose considerations don't leave them time for worrying about what has been done to parochial peace and parochial justice by the destruction of the old church, locus of generations of love.

There come to mind certain lines from Eliot's "Little Gidding":

Water and fire succeed
The town, the pasture and the weed.
Water and fire deride
The sacrifice that we denied.
Water and fire shall rot
The marred foundations we forgot,
Of sanctuary and choir.
This is the death of water and fire.

A bulldozer will efface the marred foundations of old St. Michael's about the Fourth of July. St. Michael, you may recall, is to marshal the heavenly hosts for the Last Battle. The final contest for St. Michael's Church has been lost already. The interior has been half wrecked as I write; and its contents, including the sacred vessels and the splendid vast altar, have been sold off.

The Christian Church, we are told, will endure until the end of all things terrestrial. Aye: but perhaps the true Church that survives so long will be the catacomb Church again, a few gathered together, a Remnant, a scandal—while overhead the wrecker's ball smashes nave and choir and tower. When the last rock-masses have been abandoned for lack of a congregation, there may remain some Christian families concerned for first things and last things.

Dostoevsky suggests that the Antichrist's banners will bear the legend, "Feed men, and then ask them of virtue." Today's ecclesiastics talk much about feeding bodies—particularly distant and anonymous bodies—but little about succoring souls. In many or most parish churches nominally Catholic, the liturgy has been reduced to a caricature of the Christian mysteries. And at a time when the leading Protestant theologians are rediscovering transcendence, the dominant powers in the Catholic Church talk of bullocks—or of bricks and mortar. We are left with a ridiculous mummery celebrated in a dreary "modern" fabric.

My wife and I have purchased the great altar from St. Michael's, older than the church itself; and the side altar; and the handsome old monstrance (for who needs that nowadays?); and the papal banner; and Lord knows what else. Perhaps the catacomb Church of 1984 will need these. These fragments we have shored against our ruins. Also, we commissioned a painting of old St. Michael's and have given it to the parish school, so that small children may have some glimmering of what real churches used to look like.

In years to come, members of the parish council, and perhaps even the two pastors who engineered this impious destruction for the greater glory of the clergy club, may have troubled consciences. So, no doubt, did some of the folk who sacked monasteries in the sixteenth century. In our Father's house are many mansions, but they are not all on the same floor. □

Mr. Kirk's famous ghost story "A Long, Long Trail a-Winding" is back in print, in the anthology Frights *(St. Martin's).*

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Books Arts & Manners

Sober Birthday Stuff

JOHN K. ANDREWS JR.

The Wealth of the American People: A History of American Affluence
By Oscar and Mary F. Handlin
McGraw-Hill, 266 pp., $10

The *Wall Street Journal*, authoritative interpreter of the American economic scene for nearly half the nation's history, greeted the Bicentennial year with a remarkable admission. We don't really understand what is happening to the economy in the 1970s, the paper said in a major editorial on the last day of 1975, and we don't think any of the recognized schools of economists do either. Not the Keynesians, not the Phillips Curve people, not the monetarists—not anybody.

To the extent that anyone's theories explain the recent ominous persistence of inflation through boom and recession alike, the *Journal* noted, they do so not with Newtonian precision but tenuously, tying economics in to "psychological variables" such as "public illusions, anticipations, and desires." Fitting that the 1974 Nobel Prize in economics should have gone to F. A. Hayek, author of so many warnings that "economics went wrong when it excluded the variables that cannot easily be quantified."

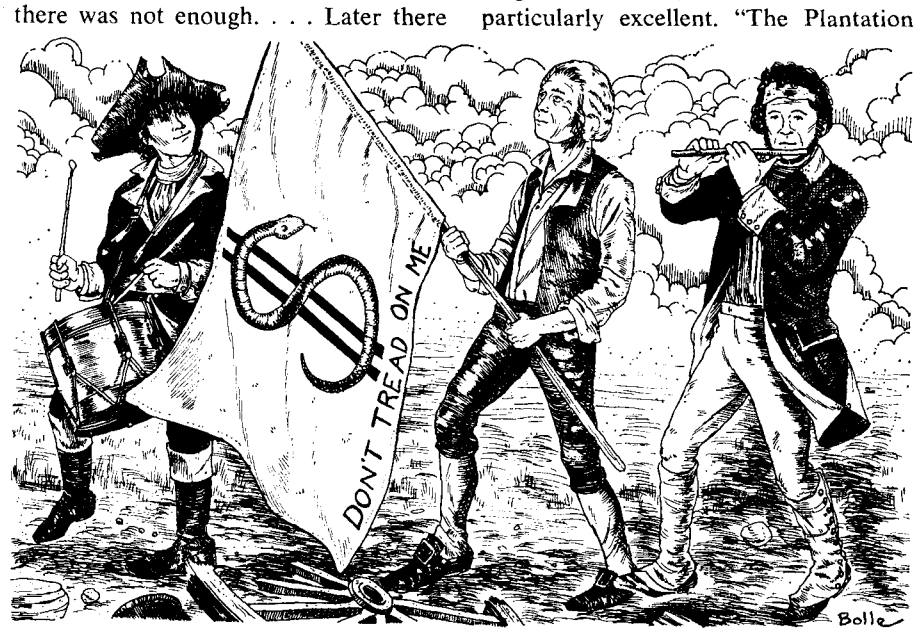
In this climate of revisionism and doubt, there is special value in a concise new economic history of the United States from a source steeped in historical scholarship and unencumbered by the economist's theoretical baggage—the distinguished husband-wife team of Oscar and Mary Handlin.*

The Wealth of the American People is timely for another reason too, of course—that being the Bicentennial observance itself. One reason the great anniversary has already begun to bore so many people is that the retrospection and commentary surrounding it (save for the cant contributed by the People's Bicentennial Commission) are so one-dimensional, focusing almost exclusively on the political-military aspect. This was only part of what independence meant to the rebelling colonists, and probably not the biggest part. Most of the yeomen and bourgeoisie who took up arms over "No taxation without representation" had in mind dumping off the taxes, not gaining the parliamentary voice. The dollar has never been so almighty among Americans as some cynics like to claim, but the drive for material abundance was as much a national goal in 1776 as it is today, and anyone who ignores that fact, or apologizes for it, or deplores it, misses much of the meaning of our country's birthday party.

This reader found Professor and Mrs. Handlin's lucid, factual narrative just the tonic for that imbalance. "Once there was not enough. . . . Later there was more; in time, enough." In a dozen words they introduce a side of the 200-year American epic no less dramatic than the more worked-over story of elections, battles, and legislation, and under their telling the full drama is unfolded.

There is immense detail for so brief a book, flashes of color and personal vignettes amid the great sweep of impersonal trends, but always introduced with rigorous objectivity and documentation. The authors' goal—a detachment from their material equaling that of "an ancient historian dealing with the trade of Sumeria"—is admirably achieved. Yet the story is never without a certain affection, a certain note of immigrant patriotism reminding us that Oscar Handlin first made his fame chronicling the human tides flowing into promised-land America, of which his own parents had been a part.

Of the 13 chapters, roughly chronological in outline, several stand out as particularly excellent. "The Plantation



*This review was written before Mrs. Handlin's death.

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and Its Consequences" examines, incisively though hardly in terms a Richard Weaver would agree with, the South's choice of an economic plan and ethics different from the North's. The dispassionate analysis of slavery, not in moral terms but simply on its merits as a labor system, is devastating. "Corporate Enterprise" provides a fine account of the transition from entrepreneurial to managerial business organization around the turn of this century. "The Failure of the Global Economy" interweaves some surprising conclusions about early 1900s imperialism, foreign investment patterns, and the rise of autarky, providing a keynote for much that has happened in the world economy since then.

OVER ALL, the Handlins' approach is perfectly in tune with the rising skepticism about "pure" economic theory being voiced in the *Wall Street Journal* and elsewhere. They assert the necessity to "embed economic in social history" and to take account of the often decisive influence of "irrational preferences, miscalculations, political pressures, and intellectual and cultural assumptions." Despite this non-doctrinaire approach, or perhaps because of it, their story seems pregnant with the makings of a new, interdisciplinary meta-theory about the sources of American prosperity.

On government's role in the economy, for example, they comment that mid-nineteenth century experience gradually taught Americans "that government rendered a more important service when it created conditions that enabled all the people to do business with confidence than when it granted privilege to some," whereas by the later twentieth century we faced a paradox in which "the productive system increasingly depended on government action [yet] the government was less capable of acting than for decades before." One has to wonder if this is really progress.

On the psychological variables affecting economic vitality, their critique is even more compelling. Though he was influenced strongly by Arthur Schlesinger Sr. as a Harvard student and has been a long-time colleague of Arthur Schlesinger Jr. on the faculty there, Professor Handlin's bent is clearly toward liberalism of the *Commentary*, rather than the Kennedy-Cambridge, stripe. (He was one of the magazine's early star contributors in the late 1940s.) His powerful jeremiad against "the effects on the economy of *ennui* and guilt [among] the affluent and their children," which concludes the book, deserves the widest hearing it can possibly receive in this year of reassessment for Americans.

If the "counterculture prattlers" are right in proclaiming that "growth is evil," Handlin and his wife ask fiercely, how come Brezhnev, Mao, and the whole Third World look to this country for succor; how come America's good life keeps providing more bounty for more of our people year by year? But now, with the builders and dreamers of America's economic miracle gone, and a guilt-ridden, hedonistic mass society their only heir, "whether the pieces will long remain in place without guidance or purpose . . . is the ultimate question." Sober stuff for a birthday season, packaged in a dense and demanding book—but exactly what the country needs to hear in 1976. □

John K. Andrews Jr. *is a former White House speechwriter. . . .* **M. E. Bradford** *is a professor of English at the University of Dallas and a practicing Rimster. . . .* **Linda Bridges**, *a critic of swell letters, is also* NR*'s assistant managing editor.*

The Puritan Origins of the American Self
By Sacvan Bercovitch
Yale, 250 pp., $15

MARCHING TOWARD ZION

M. E. BRADFORD

According to one construction, the difference between a traditional and a modern society is that the one conceives of itself in terms of its past, the other in terms of its future. As a people we are, of course, at present in the midst of a general and obligatory exercise in retrospection. But in this season of common piety, this interlude of memory, we should not forget that American popular mythology has usually identified the United States with a disposition to the contrary, with what Emerson called "the Party of Hope." We did not, to be sure, come to this commitment overnight. Nor did we all agree to it, either in the beginning or at any time since. Indeed, there is much evidence that the central struggle of our intellectual history has been over the propriety of this portentous decision. But from the time of their coming hither, the Puritans of New England—the people in covenant with tomorrow—had made up their minds on the question. And, sustained by the certainty of their authority from on high, they generated by stages a force sufficient to impose upon the rest of us their definition of the national enterprise. Of the consequences of their triumph, we have not yet begun to take the measure.

THE ORIGINAL Puritan impetus, which, during the past three decades, scholars such as Professor Bercovitch have been industriously reassembling, cannot be understood in merely quantitative, narrative, or discursive terms, with reference to a volume of sumptuary legislation, a train of philosophical influence, or the average length of sermons in New Haven. Neither the quasi-Victorian stereotype nor the simple calculus of Mencken explains it away. Instead, what we are learning is that Anglo-Saxon Puritanism is, above all else, a language and a method for construing history, both private and public—a habit of the imagination. But finally we should think of it as a confusion of St. Augustine's two cities, the city of man and the city of God: a confusion made possible by biblical analogy as applied through hermeneutics to secular concerns. Traditional historians of the stature of Perry Miller, Samuel Eliot Morison, Edmund S. Morgan, and Peter Gay have opened the way for a new breed of scholars such as Bercovitch, specialists in typology, who see in their documents a poetry and perhaps even a scripture: who read as literary critics even when the text before them is ostensibly chronicle, diary, or biography. And with this procedure they have recovered the continuity of New England's testimony to the heathen—one sustained apprehension of the redeemed self and the redemptive community, changing only in worldly objectives or expectations and their relation to a theological ground.

Thus perceived, the Puritan message—coming all the way down from Massachusetts Bay and Cotton Mather through Ezra Stiles and the High Fed-

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eralists and beyond (by way of Emerson, John Brown, and Lincoln) to the world we know—rings out loud and clear. In the words of John Winthrop, the eldest of the elders, Americans are to be "as a city uppon a hill . . . [with] the eies of all people . . . uppon us." Then "Men shall say of succeeding plantations, 'The Lord make it like that of New England.' " Bercovitch's emphasis is understandably on such early figures, in whose writings the pattern of nation-equals-church and American-equals-Christian is unmistakable—figures who fully reveal our "civil theology." Mather on the life of Winthrop is a natural centerpiece for his demonstration, a remarkable expository tour de force. But Bercovitch also does well by the heirs of the original Saints, particularly the Transcendentalists. And he is clearly aware that his account is subject to further extension and would, if brought completely up to date, include the rampant millenarians of whom we read in our daily press and from whose number we are asked to choose magistrates to preserve our political order.

THE PARADOX running through this narrative is that the more secular the Zion of our destination, the more rigorous and hieratic the language employed to secure our cooperation in the journey—and the more difficult any attempt to encourage deliberation over prudential questions that might halt the march altogether. But the mythic self-identification that took its definitive shape during the War between the States has run its course in the jungles of Southeast Asia and on the troubled streets of our great cities. Nor does the power of the American natural setting still rejuvenate faith in that teleology. Jeremiads insisting that "the myth of America is the creation of the New England way" continue to pour forth from the pulpits of our self-anointed Joshuas and Nehemiahs. Books like *The Puritan Origins of the American Self* help us to recognize their sound. However, biography and history, battle hymns and gnostic manifestos informed by the Puritan calculus (as Bercovitch calls it, an "ideology in the Marxist sense") now give us pause. And we are prepared once again to consider alternative patrimonies for precedent in confronting those threats to our common existence that are already clearly marked as we begin our third century as a nation. At that prospect it is easy to rejoice. □

THE Right BOOKS

M. STANTON EVANS

BOOKS ABOUT the Kennedy assassination in Dallas are usually ventures in liberal catharsis, and Robert Sam Anson's *"They've Killed the President!"* (Bantam, $2.50) is no exception.

The source of emotional blockage is apparent: To the consternation of all left-thinkers, the officially designated assassin of President Kennedy turned out to be, not some crazed conservative, but a man of the Left. Lee Harvey Oswald, indeed, was pretty much your basic Communist—defector to the Soviet Union, married to the niece of a colonel in the KGB, devotee of Fidel Castro, that sort of thing. Exactly the kind of person, in the liberal scenario, whom we could safely ignore while keeping vigilant watch on the Right.

In the immediate aftermath of the killing, these embarrassing data were washed away in a jet spray of irrelevancy. The blame for Kennedy's death was assigned to disembodied forces of "hate" in general and thence to right-wing "hate" specifically, and therefore away from the corporeal, and leftist, Oswald. Such gauzy and irrational stuff, however, could hardly stand the test of time, and it has long been obvious to leftward spokesmen that something better would have to be invented. We have thus been favored with countless esoteric theories that try to pin responsibility for the murder on somebody, anybody, over on the right.

Anson's volume is fully within this tradition, though better done than most. It is an effort to merge several garish notions, including multiple assassins, Oswald look-alikes, CIA spooks, Mafia hit men, and anti-Communist Cuban exiles. All of it is reducible, however, to two cathartic propositions: 1) If Oswald did it, then he wasn't a Communist; 2) If Oswald was a Communist, then he didn't do it. Either will serve, apparently, if it blocks out the more straightforward, but unthinkable, *Oswald was a Communist and he did it.*

Though it is never clear which of these options Anson prefers, he does tend to play down, whenever he can conveniently do so, Oswald's numerous Marxist affiliations. For instance, the fact that Oswald demanded John Abt, attorney for the Communist Party, as his counsel nowhere graces Anson's pages.

Other facts of similar implication are also routinely omitted. So much for what its publishers call "the most eloquent, persuasive" plea for a new investigation of the Kennedy murder. (One thing Anson does provide is a plausible explanation of why the Warren Commission was so eager to settle for Oswald as the only culprit, rather than as part of a conspiracy, and simultaneously to tiptoe past his Marxist credentials: Lyndon Johnson was deathly afraid that discovery of a specifically *Communist* plot to murder Kennedy would touch off a global confrontation. Better to close the book upon a lone assassin, it seems, than that.)

FOR THOSE who prefer their assassination data straight, without the ideological chaser, two other, less tendentious, studies are recommended. Incomparably the best book on the subject that I have seen is *The Assassination of John F. Kennedy* (Clarkson N. Potter, $10), by Al Newman, the former managing editor of *The Reporter*. This volume provides a wealth of detail on Oswald's Marxism, his penchant for violence, and his several links to the Castro cause, and interweaves them with the contemporary escalation of hostilities between the Kennedy regime and Communist Cuba.

A second useful summary of Oswald's Marxist-Castroite connections, and of how these interacted with the circumstances of the assassination, is Sylvan Fox's *The Unanswered Questions about President Kennedy's Assassination* (Award Books, $1.75). First published a decade ago, Fox's volume has recently been reissued with a new conclusion. It argues the possibility of conspiracy (quite compatible with the notion of Oswald's guilt) and specifically notes the leftward, revolutionary character of the assassin. Both volumes are handy counterweights to Anson. □

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Dylan Thomas: No Man More Magical
By Andrew Sinclair
Holt, Rinehart, 240 pp., $15.95

HIS OWN BEST ENEMY

LINDA BRIDGES

No man more magical, perhaps; no man more self-consciously contradictory, certainly.

> One Christmas was so much like the other in those years around the seatown corner now, out of all sound except the distant speaking of the voices I sometimes hear a moment before sleep, that I can never remember whether it snowed for six days and six nights when I was twelve or whether it snowed for twelve days and twelve nights when I was six. All of the Christmases rolled down toward the two-tongued sea like a cold and headlong moon bundling down the sky that was our street.

This was one Dylan Thomas: the reminiscer—orotund, ironic, and nostalgic—of his Welsh boyhood. Another, equally well-known, is the Dylan Thomas who battled noisily with his wife all the way across America and back, and whose last recorded words were, "I've had 18 straight whiskies. I think that's the record." (And—another typical Dylan touch—this announcement was not even true: two friends did a bit of checking and discovered the number of whiskies to be more like four or five.)

And somewhere, he found time for what he always considered his real work: lyric poetry, a sort of throwback to Yeats amid the prevailing middle voice of the Thirties and Forties:

I stand, for this memorial's sake, alone
In the sniveling hours with dead, humped Ann
Whose hooded, fountain heart once fell in puddles
Round the parched worlds of Wales and drowned each sun
(Though this for her is a monstrous image blindly
Magnified out of praise; her death was a still drop;
She would not have me sinking in the holy
Flood of her heart's fame; she would lie dumb and deep
And need no druid of her broken body).

It's terribly hard to write about a man who seemed determined to waste his genius (cf. the Mizener book on Ford Madox Ford) without condescendingly making the genius appear less important than the waste. Andrew Sinclair has not fallen into that trap. He has written an unblinking, affectionate appraisal that keeps all the facets of his subject skillfully in balance, and explains without explaining away.

Dylan Thomas was the son of a warm-hearted, chapel-going mother and a fierce, embittered, God-hating father. Although Thomas' poetry is as much permeated with Welsh rhythms as Hopkins', who spoke the language, Thomas did not. His father—the nephew of a great bardic poet—would never speak Welsh to his son nor allow his wife to: Welsh was the language of the conquered.

It was when Thomas was still "a bombastic adolescent provincial Bohemian" that he decided, in Sinclair's phrase, "to be a poet, impure and unsimple." He began filling notebooks with drafts of poems at age 15, and nearly all his pre-war poetry was based on these five years' worth of notebooks. He was trying at that time—indeed, trying all his life—to come to terms with the opposing religious legacies of his father and his mother, and, which is much the same thing, to find the proper subject of his poetry. "Man be my metaphor," he declared at the end of the last notebook; or, as he put it twenty years later: "The joy and function of poetry is, and was, the celebration of man, which is also the celebration of God."

But just as he was finding his vocation as a poet, he went off to London and found his other vocation: hearty pubman. Insecure about his looks, his inexperience, his spotty education, he found that he could hold his own among the London literati as a pub talker. Sinclair paraphrases the explanation given by Richard Burton, who was a drinking pal of Thomas': "Dylan was only the most magical and wittiest spellbinder in the world between the third and the eighth drink. Before that, he was morose. After that, he was uproarious or maudlin. But in that middle ground of alcohol . . . the actor met the poet in a riot of fancy and words."

Thomas had often referred to himself as the Rimbaud of Cwmdonkin Drive, and he fantasized, or pretended, that he had tuberculosis ("I've already had twice as much of it as Keats had," he would say). Now, at 26, the age at which Keats died, he temporarily abdicated from poetry. England had just declared war; Thomas needed a regular job to avoid being conscripted ("My one-&-only body I will not give"), so he started writing war documentaries. He later explained, "Shadily living by one's literary wits is as good a way of making too little money as any other, so long as, all the time you are writing BBC and film scripts, reviews, etc., you aren't thinking, sincerely, that this work is depriving the world of a great poem or a great story. Great, or at any rate very good, poems and stories do get written in spite of the fact that the writers of them spend much of their waking time doing entirely different things." And great, or at any rate very good, poems did get written by Thomas during and after the war: "Fern Hill," "In My Craft or Sullen Art," "A Refusal to Mourn the Death, by Fire, of a Child in London," "Do Not Go Gentle into That Good Night." Perhaps, as Sinclair conjectures, Thomas' temperament actually required him "to be deprived by the conditions of his life from writing poems in order to let them concentrate and clarify inside him."

FINALLY, there were the lecture tours in America, undertaken mainly to get money but also because "Some are born drunks, some achieve drunkenness, but Dylan liked to have drunkenness thrust upon him. This America liked to do . . ." And so, with his father dead (*Do not go gentle into that good night. / Rage, rage against the dying of the light*), his sister dead, himself as he thought doomed, he went off to America for the third time, to his "chosen way of death."

Dylan Thomas: No Man More Magical is appreciation and analysis rather than full-dress biography. The text is liberally interspersed with photographs, very handsomely reproduced: Dylan looking like a gone-to-seed hobbit, the young Dylan and Caitlin ("We are quiet and small and cigarette-stained and very young"), Dylan in his workshop, Dylan's Wales and especially his Swansea.

Dylan Thomas was a performing artist, and as such he had an amazingly wide popularity for a serious poet, certainly for so difficult a poet. His reputation is still in the trough that tends to

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follow that kind of popularity, and Sinclair has a polemical purpose: to rebut the "many modern critics [who] love to tear apart the reputation of the greatest lyric poet of his time"—a designation Sinclair never really attempts to defend, except by undervaluing the poets (Eliot, Auden) against whom Thomas was rebelling. Thus this book is hardly the last word—even insofar as there ever is a last word on such matters—on Dylan Thomas' place among twentieth century poets. But it is a perceptive account of what made him the kind of poet he was. □

The GIMLET EYE

D. KEITH MANO

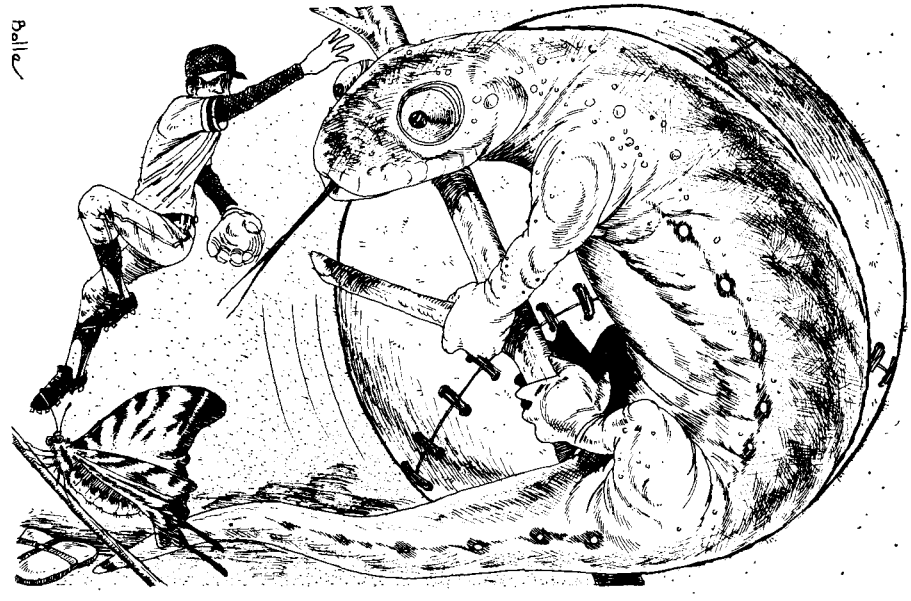
The Stadium

It's my home. I'm a boy of summer. We go back 29 years, Yankee Stadium and I. My dead father is there; also a marvelous woman, my fourth grade teacher. And two or three very young ladies who shared hands with me in that mountainside of an upper deck: courtship and innocence, they were compatible then. I can remember Joe D. slicking after line drives on his private oiled track in center field; a bank teller doesn't snap off hundreds with more assurance. And Mantle, thunderous yet fragile. His speed broke the spirit of fly balls; his presence browbeat them down. One twi-nighter in 1961 I saw Maris mail off four home runs: each was a penstroke and gone; above, somewhere in the Perseid meteor shower, there might have been shooting stars as ephemeral, as lovely. It was—it is—the one place where I have no ornate, hand-carved persona. Healthy, that: to be, now and then, just one innominate pointillist dot in a grand seascape of heads.

They've rebuilt it: with great affection. The poles are gone that once interrupted a ground ball from bat to second base. Tight seats have been let out; escalators added. Now there is an instant-replay scoreboard; drive-in movie screens don't come much larger. Here tintype portraits of Roy White and Chris Chambliss will flash up; they resemble negatives in copper plate, the kind that a printer might use. Death Valley, left-center field—467 impossible feet away three years ago—has been cheated in somewhat. And right field, Babe Ruth's custom-made porch—an all-too-possible 296 feet away—has been cheated back somewhat. Still, it's the same place. A section of 1923 Beaux Arts façade has been retained. *The* Stadium, unlike eunuchoid, geometrical Shea Stadium, is huge yet intimate. Yet eccentric: a ball park, as a golf course, should be different, peculiar. Ghosts of fifty years' competition will flit at ease here. That, too, is healthy. We are, it has been our nature, a competitive people. We cherish the history of our wars.

In A.D. 532 competition between chariot teams at the Hippodrome jeopardized Constantinople, Justinian I, and, conceivably, all of Eastern Rome. It got so bad that both sides—Blue and Green—took up theology: Green fans were Monophysite; Blue fans were orthodox two-nature folk. On a single pleasant day 35,000 Green aficionados went to their one-bodied Maker. Yankee–Red Sox rivalry hasn't quite reached the theological stage, but it is ancient and bitter. More than 166,000, maybe 30 per cent Red Sox clients, will attend the four game weekend set. Two years ago, during a Boston–New York twi-nighter, such violence came to its beery head in the grandstand that players felt snubbed. I saw six guards frog-march one berserker right out onto the field. With mob approval, thumbs down, he proceeded to deck all six. Number seven—South Bronx cheers—coshed him from behind smack across third base. Tonight, perhaps out of respect for a new park—as one is neat in neat rooms—42,000 are restrained. But you can pick up tension all over the dial. And, yes, I like it. We are becoming that most insipid thing: international men. With allegiance, yawn, to all humans everywhere. A little local pride is inspiriting. It means that we champion place and the specialness of place, of particular customs and habits. Give or take a few Indian tribes, the *Zeitgeist* would bus our souls to sameness.

Baseball, they'll tell you, is a step 'n' fetchit sport, boresome. Nonsense: it has the nervous, precise excitement of cat burglars at work. There is a syntax to baseball. Articles, prepositions, conjunctions, but somewhere the verb must come. And, in good contests, suspense will accrete and die, accrete and be released: the metabolism of a Johnsonian paragraph. More than any other team game, baseball is man *v.* man. To hit a hard sphere thrown at 80 to 90 mph and safely—this judgment has long had general consensus—in all of sport that is the single most exacting achievement. And beauty: watch some expert second baseman turn a double play. Mozart has written allegrettos for it. Take the throw, pivot in midair, release, as some runner, spikes up, slides against your unguarded shin. Baseball: I think of a still lizard slingshotting butterflies for lunch: violence that doesn't disturb the spring. Sudden grace and fleetness in a lazy garden.



THE Great American Game. Baseball is still that: I don't prove it by attendance figures (though baseball attendance is up 13 per cent). I adduce it from the crowd mix. Take just one upper deck row: a Puerto Rican and his young son; a sixty-year-old woman; a sailor; two yarmulka'd boys; a black couple; a bearded man with *Gravity's Rainbow* in his lap. Neither the Jets nor the Knicks could draw that batting

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order. Baseball has an advantage, you see. Liberals distrust sport as they distrust graded tests: competition is heinous; life should be made up of tie scores. Yet, for some reason, baseball has always been exempted, special. A baseball game, that's probably the one time in any given year when middle-class liberals will sit ulna-to-ulna beside those underprivileged for whom they have such fine, theoretical concern.

The refurbishing cost close to a hundred million city dollars. For sport. Imagine. When it comes to *panem et circenses*, a liberal will take *panem* any day: you can work in more bureaucracy. Yet baseball is protected; there were relatively few complaints. After all, what but Yankee Stadium does the South Bronx have, aside from its Berlin 1946 ambiance? And baseball is a poor man's best entertainment: for $1.50 you can sit general admission. (In 1976 you can't even get six quarters for $1.50.) New York has to be more than a welfare program that's on welfare. Mayor Lindsay understood this—it's about all he understood—and I'll forgive him a lot for Yankee Stadium. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

POWERS OF MIND, *by "Adam Smith" (Random House, 418 pp., $10).* Take a topic both timelessly fascinating and currently fashionable; mix with a best-selling, highly literate, breezy author—and you should have a better book than this one. *Powers of Mind* deals with the murkily charted workings of the brain and the myriad studies, movements, and individuals that have attempted to explain psychic phenomena, which are usually attributed either to coincidence or to the supernatural. "Adam Smith" starts from the dichotomy between the conscious and the subconscious—or, rather, the verbal left half of the brain and the spatial, dream-like right half. It is the prospect of undeveloped potentials of our non-verbal psychic processes that inspires not only "Smith" but the thousands of others now into TM, Esalen, Arica, and a host of other meditation-centered movements, all hoping to propel us into the utopia of a "higher consciousness." The field is rich, and "Adam Smith" has indeed traversed much of the territory himself; but his narrative is disjointed, bumpy, pasted-together, and sometimes seemingly pointless. It fairly lunges toward a sloppily spontaneous effect, hoping perhaps to demonstrate, by its own spasmodic confusions about the great beyond, the limitations of verbalism and conventional consciousness.

DAVID A. PIETRUSZA

HEAT AND DUST, *by Ruth Prawer Jhablava (Harper, 181 pp., $7.95).* This volume won Britain's 1975 Booker Award: it is a first-rate novel from the ranks of minor league fiction. A fatuously earnest young woman —an om-sayer—determines to cut loose from the corporeal West and travel to the disembodied East, to which her paternal grandfather and his first wife, Olivia, had repaired after their marriage in the 1920s. The granddaughter has brought with her to India letters that Olivia wrote, while on the subcontinent, to her sister: letters that record the seduction of the British civil servant's wife by the spirit of India and by, as well, the charms of a neighboring Nawab, who drives a Rolls-Royce and with whom she absconds. The hippie is fascinated by Olivia's peregrinations of half a century ago; she sleeps in courtyards, takes a native lover, and finally mounts a high peak to deliver herself up to the swamis, just as Olivia had retreated to a mountain aerie provided for her by the Nawab. Mrs. Jhablava presents an ironic and effective contrast between colonial India and "free" India; between the East's desire for Westernization and the West's desire for Easternization. She writes beautifully and with sensuous economy; her dialogue is shaped by an excellent ear; and her characterization is exceedingly skillful. You can forget the om-sayer and her swamis, but Olivia is really quite something: a sort of Fran Dodsworth in India.

CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

COURTS OF TERROR: *Soviet Criminal Justice and Jewish Emigration, by Telford Taylor (Knopf, 187 pp., $6.95).* Telford Taylor, former Nuremberg prosecutor and master of ex post facto justice, has dictated a silly little book. I say dictated because at one point he reports that he organized and dictated his notes—presumably to show us how important he is. However important he may be, this book is not. Mr. Taylor, who is a professor of law at Columbia, tells how, in the course of attempting to aid some Soviet Jews who were being persecuted for trying to emigrate to Israel, he and a few other lawyers (I quote from the jacket blurb) "challenged the Soviet judicial system on its own legal grounds" and discovered its true quality. Taylor found, he dictates, a "prostitution of Soviet justice to serve State ends." He claims not to be surprised, but then why bother with this book? I can't think of a good reason—certainly not one for reading it. The implication that there is a system of "Soviet justice" at all is offensive. The term should stick in the dictation belt. Perhaps there are minor rules and regulations, similar infractions of which are punished in similar ways. But justice there is not, as several generations of slaughter, Siberia, and insane asyla would teach anyone who could hear their testimony over the din of his dictating machine.

DANIEL OLIVER

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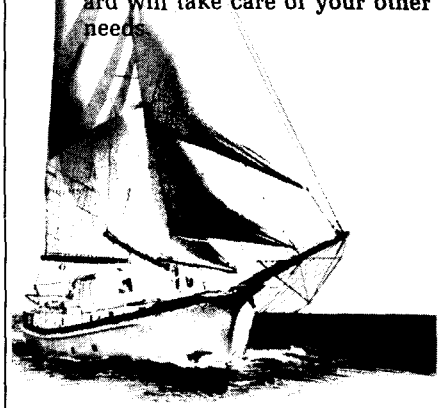

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HENRY LOUIS MENCKEN:

[*Mr. Justice*] *Holmes.*

The typical lawmaker of today is a man wholly devoid of principle—a mere counter in a grotesque and knavish game. If the right pressure could be applied to him he would be cheerfully in favor of polygamy, astrology, or cannibalism.
(1932!)

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FORSTER

(Continued from page 789)

finish the task of unifying the Greek peninsula."

While it now appears that several thousand Persian troops have been fighting against the Greeks for months, the Royal Press Satrap Darius had consistently refused to confirm their presence. Only this afternoon, after the release of the *Truth* article, did he admit the Persian role. In a brief statement, Darius expressed his solidarity with the MPLG forces and said he hoped "all our boys will be back home by Zoroaster's birthday."

When asked about his continued prevarication concerning the true state of the Greek military situation, Darius merely shrugged. "What the Hellas," he snickered. "So I lied a little."

SPARTANS STAGE VIOLENT PROTEST

THERMOPYLAE—Protesting Persian intervention in Greece, several Spartans under the direction of Leonidas began a sit-down strike designed to delay the advance of Persian-backed MPLG forces into southern Greece.

"There seem to be approximately three hundred Spartans, just sitting there and blocking the pass," a well-informed source within the Persian High Command was quoted as saying. "Most of the time they silently sit there, but on occasion they chant things like 'Persians go home!' or 'One, two, three, four, we don't want Old Xerxes' war!' "

But the source believes the inconvenience caused by the Spartans will prove slight. "I expect the protestors will not hold out for more than a day or so. At the most, I'd give the Spartans two days."

In a more official vein, he asserted: "The King of Kings expresses his complete confidence that the liberation of Greece will continue apace. It will become a reality in a very few weeks, if not days."

Xerxes himself had just left for a brief working vacation at Salamis, and was thus unavailable for comment. □

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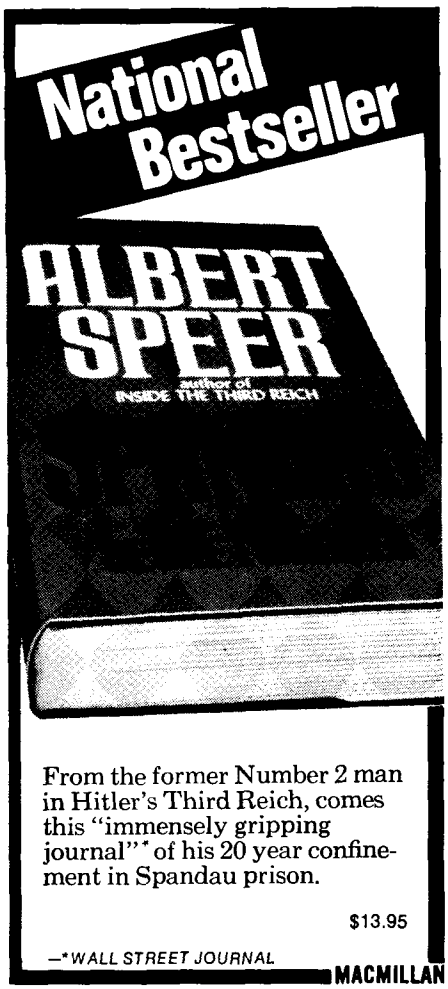

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WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

A Lesson from South Africa

On The Right

New York, July 2—The figures are not all in on South Africa, and it may be that, like the figures involving the rioting Mexican students of 1968, they won't ever be complete. But the last count showed that all of two white people were killed, and that therefore the rest of the casualties (*133—again, at last count*) were black.

It is not yet clear how many of these were black policemen; not clear how many of them were people killed by black or white policemen; and not clear how many were blacks killed by rioting blacks. That there were many of these is neither a) doubted, nor b) commented upon. Even though many newspapers featured, on page one, a picture of an automobile overturned by the rioters, not-so-neatly decapitating the (black) driver, who was not a policeman. And there were other stories of, for instance, black women hurrying home after work in Johannesburg, grabbing a stick so that, on entering Soweto, they would be accepted as anti-white militants. "Otherwise," one of them was quoted by the wire services, "they'll kill me, because *they'll think I was sympathetic with the* whites." In short, although the disruption was ignited by resistance to a white order (that the local schools teach Afrikaans to the black natives), the principal victims were blacks. Not only blacks killed and wounded, but black enterprises burned, black hospitals and libraries destroyed.

It isn't expected that much that is sensible should come out of the United Nations, and on this occasion the Security Council didn't let us down. The Council passed, unanimously, a vote deploring the use of force in South Africa. This was done with the usual animadversions on apartheid, which are entirely deserved in any moral frame, but with an undistributed middle between a) deploring apartheid, and b) deploring the use of force to stop rioters from killing nonrioters. One wonders what the South African police were supposed to do under the circumstances? Commit hara-kiri? Seal off Soweto and permit its inhabitants to treat each other like Cambodians?

What did we—finally—do in Watts? In order to restore the law, one uses force. President Eisenhower was willing to send paratroopers to enforce the law in Little Rock, Arkansas; and an entire armored division was ordered to stand by at the time of a major demonstration in Washington against the Vietnam War.

To denounce South Africa for using force to stop the rioting is to do the kind of thing the United Nations is best at: bringing discredit on itself by its hypocrisy and surrealism. It made no difference *whatever to the Security Council that the* charter of the United Nations specifically forbids intervention—which in the United Nations means, actually, official commentary—in the internal affairs of sovereign states. It is a curious and unintended commentary on white South Africa that its sins are thought worth denouncing, while those of black Africans are not. The easiest deduction is that when Amin kills a few thousand of his fellow citizens, or when one tribe sets out to eliminate another tribe, it isn't worth the attention of the Security Council, but that when the South African government acts to enforce its own (dismaying) laws, it is time for international indignation.

A WEEK BEFORE the South African Resolution, Mr. Leo Anderson, a Chicago resident, was returning home with his wife and children and was stopped at the entrance to a tunnel in a black section of the city and ordered by a gang of young ruffians to pay ten dollars for the privilege of going through. The driver declined, and started forward. Whereupon a young black *materialized with a pistol, shot the driver* twice, wounding him, and his wife once, killing her. Driver after driver went by, noticed the bloody chaos, but did nothing, and it was thirty minutes before help arrived.

The widower, interviewed in the hospital, told a reporter that he harbors no racial resentment whatever against the killer. "It was a set of rotten people who were there at the time. They happened to be black. *There are rotten whites too.*"

Just so. But it will be a long time before the Security Council finds any rotten blacks, and it has not even, on this occasion, found any rotten whites. It is no safer to deduce the brutality of those who enforce the law in South Africa from their use of force than it is to deduce the injustice of American society from the fact of riots at Watts: no safer than to assume that blacks are evil because of a particular act of ugliness in Chicago.

As is almost always the case, an individual spoke more wisdom, and showed more compassion, than an officially constituted tribunal. Mr. Leo Anderson should conduct seminars for the benefit of the ambassadors to the United Nations. □

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, 1976

New York, June 28—The Democratic Platform is as tame as Jimmy Carter's rhetoric and, in its own courtly-cute way, as inscrutable. Somebody once said about a corporation's annual reports that they are to be compared with a lady's bikini in that they reveal enough to maintain interest, while concealing the vital parts.

Consider, for instance, the simple sentences that concern foreign policy. Under the heading "Middle East," the Democrats say: "We shall continue to seek a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. The cornerstone of our policy is a firm commitment to the independence and security of the State of Israel. This special relationship does not prejudice improved relations with other nations in the region."

Ah, but it does. This is not to say that it *shouldn't*: but quite plainly it *does*. The United States has taken the official position, along with other countries represented in the Security Council way back since November of 1967, that Israel should return the conquered territories. Israel declines to do so, giving reasons some of which are by no means unreasonable. Still, there is such a thing as concern for justice to the Palestinian refugees; and there is no doubt that in the absence of a homeland for them and the return of the conquered territories there is both injustice in the area and a great animosity toward the United States. As James Reston and James Michener, both Democrats, *have at one point put it, official Israeli* intransigence—much criticized within the Knesset—is an obstacle to Mideast settlement, and the encouragement of it should be something less than a cornerstone of our policy.

Or is that intransigence a vital interest of ours? The next plank of the Democrats concerns "Asia." It is very straightforward. "The Vietnam War has taught us the folly of becoming militarily involved where our vital interests were not at stake. Our rela-

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tions with China should continue to develop on peaceful lines, including early movement toward normalizing diplomatic relations in the context of a peaceful resolution of the future of Taiwan."

The first part of that could have been written by George Washington and inserted into his Farewell Address—in fact it was. The dangling ambiguities are the vital parts. What is a "peaceful" resolution of the future of Taiwan? And is Taiwan's independence from Peking a vital interest of the United States? The existing treaty presupposes this, but as recently as in the last Democratic Platform, dominated by Senator McGovern, the proposal was to rescind that treaty. Precisely what we don't know from this declaration is everything we really want to know about U.S. policy in the Far East.

In the domestic area, the usual gods are serially oblated. A maximum production is made in behalf of full employment. Not long after that, it is suggested that the minimum wage rate should "keep pace with the increase in the cost of living," which is another way of saying that such unemployment as results from the minimum wage law should not be interfered with.

Welfare reform consists of "income maintenance, substantially financed by the Federal Government." "Financed by the Federal Government" is a codeword for "It won't cost you anything," and is the essence of Democratic economic witchcraft: the notion of the spontaneously generated dollar out of Washington, D.C. Which, by the way, ought to have full home rule—almost forgot that one. I truly worry sometimes, after D.C. gets full home rule, how the local politicians are going to talk about "federal subsidies" without stretching the credibility of that superstition. . .

Since we are going to have full employment, and a higher minimum wage, and free medicine, we have to say something about inflation, and we do. We are against inflation. Does that mean we are in favor of wage and price controls? Well, no—not immediately, anyway. In the language of the Platform, "We do not believe that such involvement [in wage and price decisions] requires a comprehensive system of mandatory controls at this time." If one American can be found who disagrees with that statement, you will have to look for him in Haight-Ashbury, Belmont, Massachusetts, or Walden Pond.

Indeed, there is only one plank in the Democratic Platform that suggests any concern whatever for husbandry. It is listed under the heading "The Developing World." "The United States should not provide aid to any government—anywhere in the world—which uses secret police, detention without charges, and torture to enforce its powers." Roughly speaking, that means the Democrats will authorize aid to Switzerland.

Well, party platforms should be written and not studied. They are interesting primarily as musical productions. This one sounds like the organ in Radio City Music Hall, unlike its predecessor, which sounded like the Rolling Stones. As such, it is guardedly welcome. □

THE COLONELS' TORTURE

New York, July 8—I wrote last spring about the historical confusion that persists after grave charges are leveled and projected where there is, so to speak, no posthumous investigation setting the matter straight. I gave as an example the charges leveled about the use of torture in Greece under the Colonels. I said that "no truly authoritative examination has been conducted on the question of whether there was in fact extensive, systematic torture." I was wrong, and I apologize to those I misled.

Here is the official record. On August 11, 1975, 31 former officers and men of the Greek military police were prosecuted for torture. Testimony was taken over a period of 32 days, after which the court convicted 16 persons, and gave out sentences from five months to 28 years.

A month later, a second trial was initiated, resulting in the conviction of 23 persons, who received sentences of up to seven years.

In December, a third trial resulted in the conviction of six officers.

On the question of whether the torture was done systematically (it makes a great deal of difference, if one cares to know whether torture was in fact sanctioned by the Colonels themselves), a New York attorney reasons as follows: "The evidence suggests that, in all, there were hundreds of victims of . . . torture, practiced all over Greece over a seven-year period, and at a series of places, Boyati Military Detention Barracks, Asphaleia, the city police security divisions, so geographically and administratively dispersed that the inference of authorization at the highest levels seems inescapable. Besides," the attorney adds, "the whole official training program of military police recruits at the notorious KESA Training Center was shown to have been specifically designed to train expert torturers."

Having said as much, it is nevertheless worth salvaging a point or two. Certainly the evidence exists that the Colonels were engaging in torture. That this should be so is embarrassing to conscientious inquirers who, in 1968, having done their best to investigate the situation, concluded that the torture charges leveled against the government of Colonel Papadopoulos were for the most part politically inspired. For instance, an investigative unit of the Red Cross. Again, for instance, a few such experienced journalists as Constantine FitzGibbon of Great Britain. True, the brunt of the evidence at the trials in Greece was against torture practiced after the deposition of Papadopoulos by Ioannides, who emerges not only as the political fool he is universally accepted as being, but as someone entirely at home with sadistic subordinates. Papadopoulos swore publicly in the fall of 1968 that the torture charges were false. Either he was lying, or else he was himself deceived. Either way, the reports of Amnesty International and of the Congress of Europe were, on the whole, justified; sad to say.

Even so, one should pause for a moment before committing oneself to accept charges of torture wherever leveled. Concerning the Greek experience:

1. There were, in fact, a total of thirty acquittals (over against 76 convictions). Now although it is no truer that because someone is convicted he is in fact guilty, than that because someone was acquitted he is in fact innocent, let us accept the Greek figures and agree that justice was done.

2. If we do so, it absolutely establishes that torture was widely practiced under the Colonels. But it also suggests that torture alleged to have been committed was not committed. Either that, or that individuals who were charged with having committed torture, in fact did not do so. And this means that we must continue to remind ourselves that to allege torture continues to be a routine political maneuver.

3. Amnesty International alleges the use of torture in a dismayingly large number of countries in the world, and the awful truth of the matter is that different cultural standards tend to establish permissible limits to torture. That which would result in the collapse of the British government would not be noticed, for instance, in Uganda. It is entirely possible that as much torture, quantitatively measured, as was committed under Papadopoulos was committed under some of his predecessor governments.

4. The safest rule of thumb is: Where there is no free press, assume the worst. Not necessarily because the worst is true—but because that is the ethically cautious conclusion to reach. A refinement of that position is:

5. Even then, listen for the strains of ideological harmony. We live in an age in which the majority of the people of the world believe that the salient persecutions of the day were symbolized by the United States *v.* Angela Davis and Francisco Franco against the five terrorists. □

(Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.)

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Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. Sea where the ignoble red men do a lot of business
21 77 1 30 59 120 137 40 100 117
128

B. This is not a childish system
28 41 50 15 95 149 159 55 166 169
172 228

C. A sorcerer's spell
143 101 139 48 157 160

D. Dante wrote with this
155 168 8 111 144 191 215 114 130 135
18

E. An Asian nationality (not in 1971 Merriam - Webster Unabridged)
161 23 46 51 57 212 220 226 79 12
32 75 93 104 115

F. Fowl that may be wild or tame
176 105 196 188 213

G. Conflict in which the Chosen people fought
92 167 158 178 198 147 56 204 192

H. A port on the Adriatic
102 107 20 211 165 218

I. A type of retreat
7 44 53 60 29 64 66 34 71 82

J. A group of musicians
110 36 38 70 80 13 88 103 124 131
181 16 47 54 223 67 91

K. Another term for a soap-box orator
113 39 49 122 142 177 183 205 2 118

L. Where Theodore Roosevelt lived
121 194 133 136 162 206 217 148 116

M. An account of a person's existence
219 127 65 201 99 134 152 174 182 225
112

N. To offer resistance to
224 3 171 58 200 145

O. A page number
14 19 33 86 11

P. A country in Europe
227 125 179 24 154 164 68

Q. What the dry cleaner's lobby might be called
232 4 17 31 37 83 106 63 129 140
150 175 190

R. A type of treatment of mental disorder
69 62 153 197 25 45 90 52 61 151
35 123 163

S. To exacerbate
81 184 195 207 78 94 5 126

T. A type of firearm
87 185 141 108 208 72 221 96 6

U. To position
97 209 9 199 156 146 26

V. To appraise
119 73 98 10 230 216 189 180

W. This New England vacation sounds good
132 229 214 22 85 210 231 222

X. Overflowing without restraint
170 42 203 109 89 74

Y. The free end of a bowstring fastened to the bow nock by a timber hitch
186 27 202 84 76

Z. Author of many lawyer stories
193 173 43 187 138

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 800 for Solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

1 A	2 K	3 N	4 Q	5 S	6 T	7 I	8 D	9 U	10 V	11 O	12 E		13 J	14 O		15 B	16 J	17 Q	
18 D	19 O	20 H	21 A	22 W	23 E		24 P	25 R	26 U	27 Y	28 B	29 I		30 A	31 Q		32 E	33 O	34 I
35 R	36 J	37 Q		38 J	39 K	40 A	41 B		42 X	43 Z	44 I	45 R	46 E	47 J	48 C		49 K	50 B	
51 E	52 R	53 I	54 J	55 B		56 G	57 E	58 N		59 A	60 I	61 R		62 R	63 Q	64 I		65 M	66 I
67 J		68 P	69 R	70 J	71 I	72 T	73 V	74 X	75 E	76 Y	77 A	78 S		79 E	80 J	81 S		82 I	83 Q
84 Y	85 W	86 O	87 T	88 J	89 X		90 R	91 J	92 G	93 E		94 S	95 B	96 T	97 U		98 V	99 M	100A
101C	102H	103J		104E	105F	106Q	107H	108T	109X	110J	111D	112M		113K	114D	115E	116L		117A
118K	119V		120A	121L	122K		123R	124J	125P	126S	127M	128A	129Q		130D	131J	132W	133L	
134M	135D	136L	137A		138Z	139C	140Q	141T	142K		143C	144D	145N	146U	147G	148L	149B		150Q
151R		152M	153R	154P	155D	156U		157C	158G		159B	160C	161E	162L	163R		164P	165H	166B
167G		168D	169B	170X		171N	172B	173Z	174M	175Q	176F	177K	178G	179P	180V		181J	182M	183K
184S	185T	186Y	187Z	188F	189V		190Q	191D	192G	193Z	194L		195S	196F	197R	198G	199U	200N	201M
	202Y	203X		204G		205K	206L	207S	208T	209U	210W	211H	212E	213F		214W	215D	216V	217L
218H	219M	220E	221T	222W		223J	224N		225M	226E	227P	228B		229W		230V	231W	232Q	

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One of a series of reports on the first hundred years of the telephone.

Why the cost of telephone service has gone up less than the cost of almost anything else.

In the late 1920's, in a Chicago factory, the history of industrial relations reached a turning point. The plant, the Hawthorne Works of the Western Electric Company, made telephones and telephone equipment for the Bell System. And in 1927 its managers had a puzzle.

The Hawthorne Works of the Western Electric Company, scene of what one economist called "the most exciting and important study of factory workers ever made."

For more than two years the company had been studying plant lighting and its relation to efficiency. (It was the era of the "efficiency expert" and "scientific management.") Increases in illumination were followed by increases in production, as expected. But decreases in light levels were also followed by increases in production. Two young women even maintained good production under light no brighter than moonlight.

It became clear that light had only a minor effect, and that there were many other variables to be identified. To solve the puzzle, the company undertook a further study, carried on jointly with the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. The researchers selected a group of six competent, experienced women, explained what they were trying to do, and requested their cooperation. Over a period of twenty-six months, the researchers added rest periods and snacks to the group's work schedule, shortened the work day, and then returned to the original schedule. The group showed an almost unbroken rise in average hourly production and also in total weekly production, even when the week was five hours shorter than at the start. At the end, their production was 30 percent above the beginning level.

The Hawthorne Experiments made it clear that the "scientific management" theory of the day relied too heavily on methods borrowed from the physical sciences. Two major conclusions are widely accepted now, but then their application to factory work was new:

People work better when they feel they are part of a team.

People work better when they feel what they are doing is important.

Today most businesses are aware of "group dynamics" and "job enrichment." But the lessons of Hawthorne have shaped

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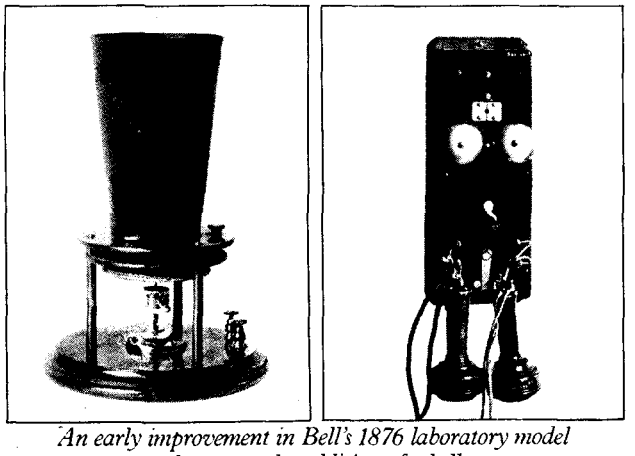
policy for many years, not just in Western Electric factories but in all parts of the Bell System. And the Bell System is still a leader in the exploration of factors affecting industrial productivity.

The prices of most telephone equipment made by Western Electric currently average 20 percent below the prices of other suppliers. Why?

New products for the Bell System are usually designed at Bell Laboratories, the research and development arm of the System. Bell Labs also sets quality standards. But at an early stage manufacturing engineers from Western Electric sit down with the designers and look for ways to save. All companies know that's the best time to cut costs; in the Bell System, that knowledge guides practice. The search for reduced costs continues after production begins. Every aspect of manufacturing is under constant reexamination. Western Electric's engineering cost reductions alone totaled $198 million in first-year savings in 1975.



An early improvement in Bell's 1876 laboratory model phone was the addition of a bell.

Yet none of these achievements would take place unless the people involved were convinced that it is important to produce good telephones at low cost. Phillip S. Babb of McKinsey and Co., management consultants, made this analysis in an interview published in the journal *International Management:*

> Western Electric has succeeded in making cost-cutting a central part of the ethos, the value system, by which their people live. Driving costs down—with retained high quality—is what they spend their working lives at. It is what they take their pride in. It is their way to the corporate top.

To put it another way, the business of the Bell System is providing good telephone service at reasonable cost; Western Electric's activities are directed toward that service goal, rather than toward simply making products.

That service goal characterizes all parts of the Bell System, including the twenty-three regional operating companies and the Long Lines Department. All the parts work closely together to achieve that goal, and all benefit as a result. The operating companies provide telephone service and report, through AT&T, to Bell Labs and Western Electric their needs and the needs of telephone users. Bell Labs and Western Electric design and manufacture equipment to meet known needs as well as the best estimates of expected needs. And the local companies are assured of having the products customers want. To use the vocabulary of the economist, vertical integration with organizational feedback enhances productivity throughout the Bell System.

Touche, Ross & Co., acting as consultants for the staff of the Federal Communications Commission, made a study of how this corporate structure affects costs for telephone service. According to their report, written in 1974:

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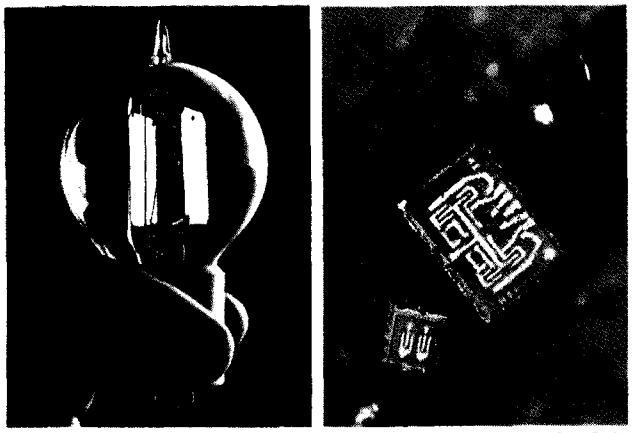
Western Electric's efficient performance has resulted in lower costs than otherwise would have been incurred. Because of Western's pricing policies and practices, these lower costs have not increased profits, but have been passed on to operating companies in the form of lower



Western Electric's first commercially successful vacuum tube (left) was used in 1915 in the amplifiers that made possible the first transcontinental telephone call. Solid-state electronics, begun at Bell Labs, makes it possible for tiny integrated circuits (right) to do the work of many vacuum tubes.

prices....The effect of the interrelationship between Bell and Western Electric is to operate Western, not as a manufacturing concern, but as an integral part of a vertically integrated communications firm. These interrelationships result in a favorable impact upon Western's costs, prices and service to operating companies.

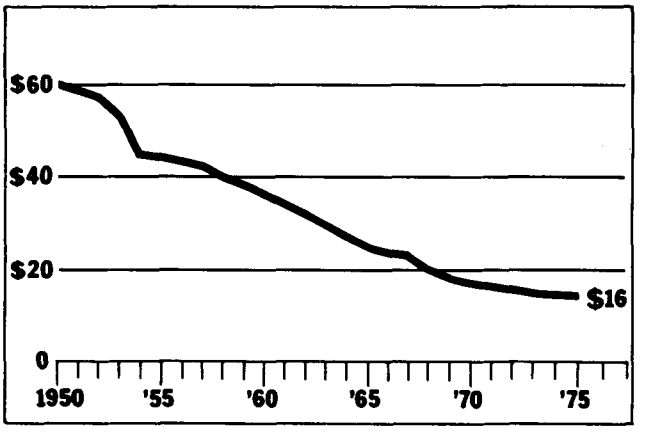
Another major factor affecting productivity is investment in new technology—in research and development. Bell Laboratories is recognized worldwide as one of the leading development and research institutions anywhere. The achievements of Bell Labs people have won two Nobel prizes, one for the demonstration of the wave nature of matter, and the other for the invention of the transistor.

The search for new and better technology has always been a part of the telephone industry. On March 10, 1876, Alexander Graham Bell and Thomas A. Watson achieved that famous first telephone message, "Mr. Watson, come here. I want to see you." At once they began to improve the instrument, and make it more usable. The goal, then as now, was to provide good telephone service at a price almost every American could afford.

The effect of research and engineering on costs can be seen most readily by considering how it has changed methods of transmitting calls. Bell Labs scientists found ways to send many conversations simultaneously through a pair of wires, and later through coaxial cables. They incorporated microwave radio into transmission systems for long distance calls.

In just the last quarter century, such improvements have reduced the average cost per circuit mile of the Bell System nationwide long distance network from $60 to $16. (See graph.) The cost of the newest coaxial cable system is less than $2 per circuit mile.

Average cost per circuit mile of interstate transmission facilities.



But Bell engineers are not satisfied. Already they are preparing the technology for even greater economies and capacities when call volumes reach a level to justify using it. The new Comstar domestic satellite—being used jointly by the Bell System and GTE Satellite Corporation—in addition to standard communications traffic will

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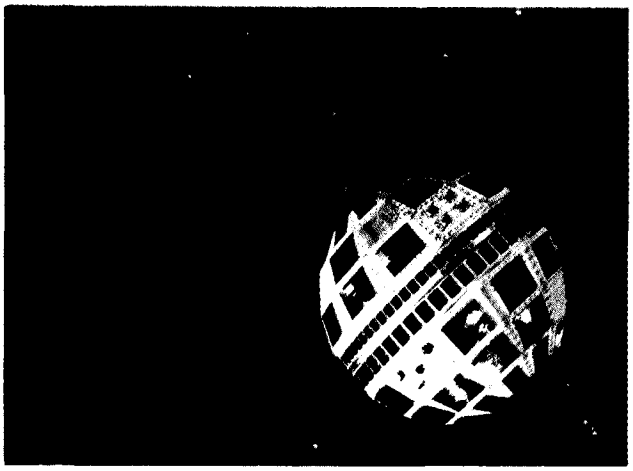
beam experimental signals to an extraordinarily precise antenna so that Bell Laboratories scientists can investigate super-high frequencies that could provide increased satellite capacity in the future. And new systems, using millimeter waveguides or laser light and glass fibers, are expected to reduce transmission costs and add new capacity also.

Another simple way to measure how technology improves productivity is to look at the number of Bell System people required to serve each 10,000 telephones. In 1925 it took 246. In 1958 it took 148. Today it takes 65.

Finally, the Bell System seeks to improve productivity by improving the methods used to manage the telephone business. For instance, the teamwork of Western Electric and Bell Labs people was cited earlier. To facilitate their interaction, some Bell Labs people work adjacent to Western Electric plants. A significant reduction has resulted in the time required to get a new design from drawing board to actual production.

The Bell System is placing greater emphasis on computerized information retrieval for the mountain of data connected with serving 118.5 million telephones. It is moving toward a standardized format for recording and storing data, to make more efficient use of computers.

The Bell System is placing greater emphasis on new methods of employee training, on the restructuring of jobs, and on



The Bell Systems's Telstar™ satellite demonstrated the feasibility of using space satellites for communications.

efforts to build more responsibility, challenge and satisfaction into jobs at all levels. Experience to date indicates that these changes help people do a better job, reduce employee turnover, and consequently improve productivity as well.

That is exactly the result one would expect, on the basis of the 1927 Hawthorne findings. The Bell System has changed a lot since 1927. But it still emphasizes people, research, manufacturing efficiency and an organizational structure that fosters teamwork.

Data issued by the federal Bureau of Labor Statistics show that overall the productivity of the telephone industry has increased 50% since 1965. That is two-and-a-half times the productivity increase of the United States economy as a whole.

In that same decade, the cost of living rose 75%. Telephone rates for local service went up only 40%. And interstate long distance rates went up about 4%. Now 95% of all American homes have telephones.

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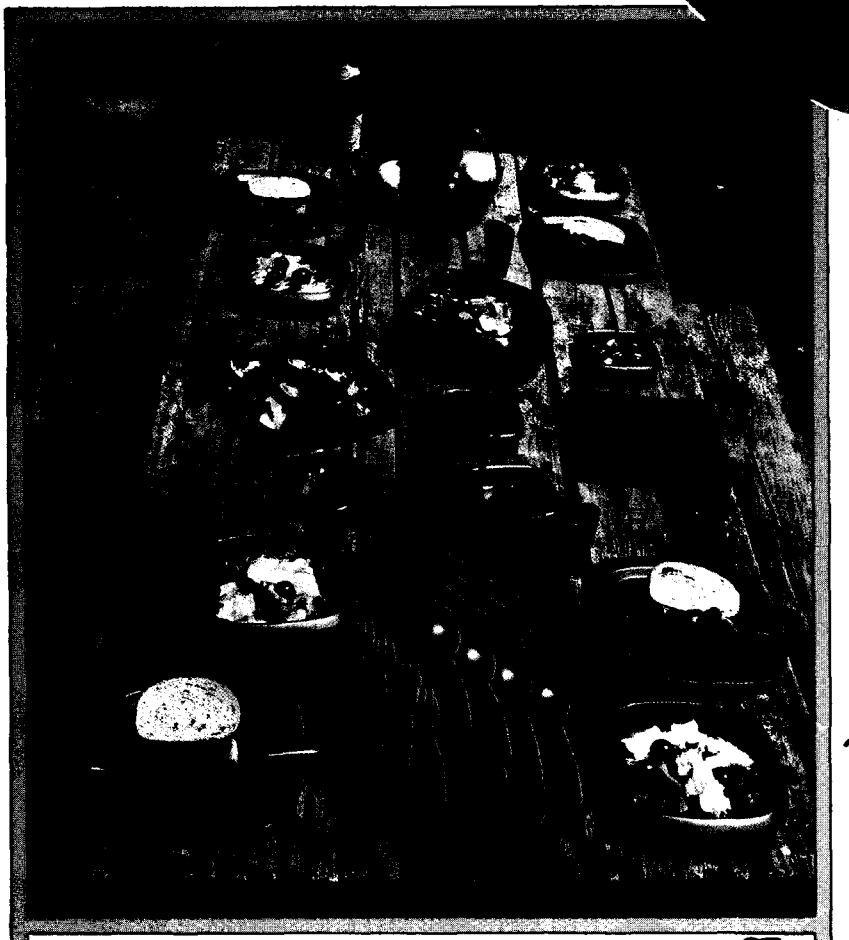

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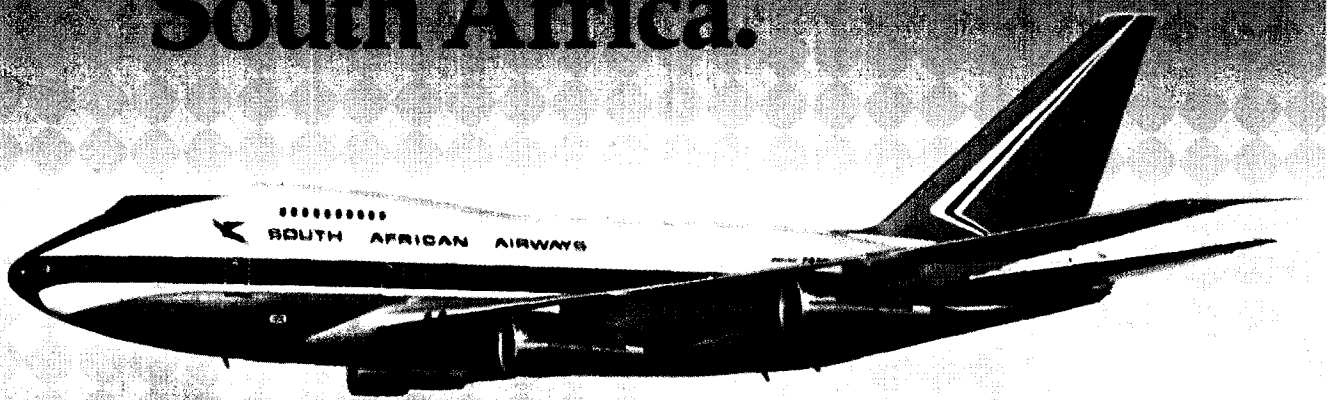
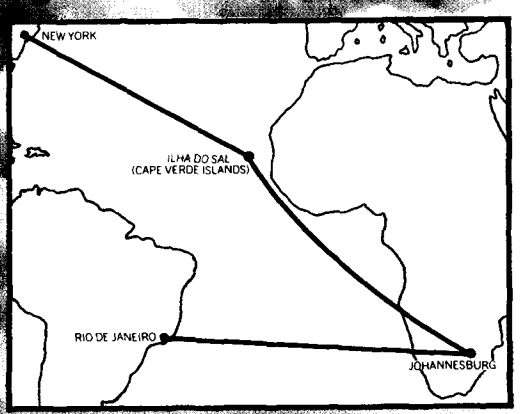
Fly to South Africa.



By two and one half hours.



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